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WINIFRED NEEDLER

*An Egyptian Funerary Bed of the  
Roman Period in The Royal  
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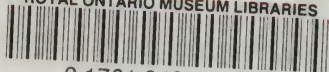
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ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY DIVISION

ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

WINIFRED NEEDLER *An Egyptian Funerary Bed of the  
Roman Period in The Royal  
Ontario Museum*

*Art and Archaeology Editorial Committee*

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# 1. *Provenance and General Description*

The large Roman-Egyptian funerary bed discussed in the following pages was acquired in Egypt, some time prior to 1909, by Dr. C. T. Currelly, first director of The Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology.<sup>1</sup> There is no information concerning the provenance of the bed in the Museum's early records, but more than thirty years later Dr. Currelly told the writer that it came from Thebes. Several considerations substantiate this statement. Dr. Currelly was appointed official "collector" for the proposed museum in 1906, while he was for two seasons (1905-7) a member of Naville's expedition at Deir el-Bahari. This was the period of his most intensive collecting of Egyptian antiquities, and he had far greater opportunities to pick things up at Thebes than at any other place. The purchases which he made elsewhere in Egypt usually came from regular dealers, and records of these transactions can generally be found in the Museum's files. Moreover, the bed is a unique object and on that account is not likely to have come from any of those Petrie excavations which were important sources of material for our museum through Dr. Currelly's association with Petrie. On the other hand, the Museum possesses much undocumented archaeological material from Thebes, mostly from Deir el-Bahari. This can in some cases be identified with Naville's excavations, from which we also received official consignments through the Egypt Exploration Fund. The bed arrived in Toronto (according to Mr. A. S. Gillan, former Chief Preparator) in a virtually complete but dismantled condition and was not re-assembled until the first wing of the Museum was about to be opened in 1914.

The bed (Pls. I and II) is in the Egyptian tradition of funerary beds, with the conventional foreparts and hindparts of two lions supporting the frame. The lions and the frieze surmounting the frame are roughly carved and painted, while the rest of the elaborate decoration is painted on the flat exterior of the sides and ends. The present height of the bed is about 67 cm. Its length is about 200 cm., and its width is 102 cm. The heavy frame is pine (*Pinus*, Sect. *Pinaster*). The rest, which is distinctly different in grain and colour, is an unidentified species of the genus *morus*.<sup>2</sup> The slightly Hellenized lion's heads, which have an unintentionally pathetic expression (Pls. III and IV), are carved in one piece with the squared corner supports of the bed, and project mask-like from a pentagonal shield. Informal linear detail in black paint, including an untidy ruff, contributes to the impression of hybrid decadence. The heads are better carved, however, than the extremely debased forelegs, from which they are separated in front by vertical double columns of painted inscriptions on a plane surface. The hindlegs are likewise very debased, and the tails are curiously twisted between the legs

instead of being raised as in the traditional form of funerary bed. On the left-hand side of the bed the tail twists completely around the leg. On the other side it rests on the rear edge of the base-block that supported each pair of legs. These base-blocks, entirely missing in front and only partially preserved in the rear, were made in one piece with the legs. They were decorated with a cavetto cornice, which is doubtless a corruption of the inverted cone traditionally placed beneath the animal feet of furniture.<sup>3</sup>

On the interior of the bed horizontal planks, now missing, must have rested on the edge of the frame's upper surface, supplying the basic support or "springs" of the bed and substituting for the plaited cord, linen strips, or leather thongs used for the purpose in daily life. These horizontal planks were further supported by a medial strut, still intact, the painted ends of which can be seen in the midst of the decoration of the exterior (Pls. IV and XIII). The two tiers of planks rising above the frame of the bed form a box 17 cm. high, which must have contained the cushioning, mattress, or featherbed on which the mummy directly rested. The lower tier is painted in blue(?), red and green vertical stripes, a corruption of the traditional cornice decoration.<sup>4</sup> The upper tier is carved and painted to represent a row of erect uraei, such as is often seen in royal and private representations of canopies and shrines for the gods, beginning with the New Kingdom, in the tomb furniture of Tutankhamun, and with increasing frequency as a decorative element in private tomb furniture of the late periods.<sup>5</sup> The uraei are yellow-brown with red sun-disks. On superficial examination one might wonder whether this uraeus frieze might have belonged originally to another object, or to another part of the same object. The state of preservation of the bed, however, is remarkable, and there is no restoration except some supports on the interior.<sup>6</sup> That all the elements are in their original position is indicated (1) by the correspondence of the dowel-holes, many of which still contain the original wooden dowels, (2) by the painted decoration, which in many places is continuous over different pieces of wood, and (3) by continuous marks of weathering and of brush strokes on the stucco of the interior. Around the top of the bed, in the thickness of the uraeus frieze, there are narrow slots, seven on each side, and a sunken drill-hole in the middle of the front end. Although these holes are all very small and are rather irregularly placed they suggest that the bed may have been provided with a light canopy, a theory that is still further supported by a slight hollowing in the middle of the inner surface of the rear end.

The abundant polychrome decoration of the bed is painted over a stucco base, as is also the yellow-brown of the lions. The colours are red, yellow, green, blue(?) and black, on a white ground, with the hieroglyphs and the outlines and linear detail of the figures in black. All are apparently faded, and what was probably blue is now dark gray. On the two sides there is a continuous pictorial frieze of which most of the scenes were from vignettes in the Book of the Dead. On the head end, covering the frame and a wide



skirt, there is depicted a large array of deities, and on the foot end the ogdoad. All the pictorial elements are lavishly accompanied by crude hieroglyphic inscriptions. This very elaborate painted decoration will be described and discussed in detail below, but first the antecedents of the bed in the history of Egyptian funerary furniture will be briefly reviewed, in an effort to obtain some understanding of its form and probable function.

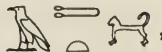
## 2. *History of the Egyptian Lion-bed*

The lion-bed, as a form of funerary symbolism, goes back to the Old Kingdom and may have originated in Heliopolitan beliefs which connected the lion with resurrection. These beliefs in their turn were probably derived from the concept of the lion as a symbol of the king in his role of god with power over life and death.<sup>7</sup>

Two alabaster offering-tables discovered by Mariette in the rock-cut chambers of the Djoser complex north of the pyramid<sup>8</sup> remind one of the funerary lion-beds of the later periods. On each side an elongated lion, whose body simply forms a raised border, is carved mainly in relief while the head and forelegs project in the round. The tail encircles an appendage in the form of an oil-jar, designed to hold liquids dripping from the gently backward-sloping surface. Nothing is known about the ceremonial bed or table, probably wooden, on which the kings of the Old Kingdom must have been laid out for mummification. It would seem unlikely that such pieces of furniture would survive in view of their macabre function, which would render them unsuitable for ceremonial burial. But the lion's close association with the kingship in symbolism, the persistently traditional form of the later funerary lion-beds, and the appearance of the latter in ancient representations of Anubis the embalmer suggest that the ultimate ancestor of the Toronto bed was a royal embalming bed of the early Old Kingdom similar in design to Djoser's small-scale alabaster tables.<sup>9</sup>

It is at least certain that furniture with lion's legs was made for the living at the beginning of the 4th Dynasty. Royal thrones with head and forepart of a lion supporting the front of the seat on either side occur in three statues of Chefredjef.<sup>10</sup> This type of throne remained the prerogative of kings in later Egyptian history. Furniture with simply lion's legs (i.e. one foreleg to each side) and without lion's heads had begun to supersede the earlier bull-legged furniture<sup>11</sup> by the end of the 3rd Dynasty, and was then associated with the life of private individuals as well as with royalty. Like the more frequently seen chairs of similar design, beds of daily life with lion's legs (or occasionally the bull's legs which they gradually replaced) and footboard appear in the wall-pictures of private tombs of the 5th and 6th Dynasty.<sup>12</sup> The only actual wooden bed known from the Old Kingdom, that of Queen Hetepheres I,<sup>13</sup> has lion's legs (one at each corner supporting a sloping frame) and the footboard which is regularly present in beds of daily life from that time on, but it has no lion's heads. None of these beds of daily life resembles at all closely the later funerary form of lion-bed.

Although positive evidence is lacking it may be reasonably assumed that, like the chair, the bed with lion's heads and lion's legs was at first associated

solely with the king, both in life and in death. From the private tombs of Meru and Sebky at Heliopolis<sup>14</sup> and of Mena at Dendera,<sup>15</sup> all of the 6th Dynasty, come for the first time pictures of beds with lion's heads as well as lion's legs. It is not certain whether these beds were used in daily life or only for ritual purposes, since they occur in inventories of offerings, not in scenes of activities. Meru's bed is accompanied by the label , *3tt*, the word for bed.<sup>16</sup>

The beds in the painted inventories of objects on the coffins of the Middle Kingdom<sup>17</sup> usually have lion's heads, as in the 6th-Dynasty examples cited, but unlike the latter they lack the footboard. The function of these inventory beds of the Middle Kingdom is likewise undetermined, and for the same reason. Their funerary character is indicated, however, by the appearance of similar beds in funeral processions pictured on the walls of tombs of approximately the same date. In one such scene the sarcophagus rests upon a lion-bed during transport by boat and by sledge.<sup>18</sup> In another the mummy lies on a lion-bed in a funerary barge.<sup>19</sup> In the first instance the bed has a vestigial tail, and in the second it has a long one which curves upwards like the tails of the standard funerary bed of the New Kingdom and later. The actual wooden beds which survive from the Middle Kingdom are generally of very simple form, with plain legs and with neither lion's heads nor footboard.<sup>20</sup> I have found no beds in the tomb pictures of the Middle Kingdom which can be definitely identified as beds of daily life, but a plain type, with neither lion's heads nor footboard, perhaps belongs to this category.<sup>21</sup>

The beds with lion's heads at each end in the 18th-Dynasty temple scenes of theogamy and royal birth<sup>22</sup> do not necessarily give a true picture of actual beds used in the royal household, for their design was probably not intended to be taken more literally than the subject of these formal scenes. They certainly do not at all resemble the beds of daily life which have actually survived from the New Kingdom,<sup>23</sup> or those which are sometimes pictured on the tomb walls of the period.<sup>24</sup> But lion-beds (or stands) with heads at each end appear on the walls of the tomb of Ramesses II, where they carry various funerary objects.<sup>25</sup> They seem related, in form and function, to the lion-beds in the inventories of the 6th to 12th Dynasty, and to the lion-beds carrying the mummy or sarcophagus in Middle-Kingdom funeral processions (see above) and those of later periods.

Funerary lion-beds with heads at one end only, like the Middle-Kingdom examples already mentioned, are seen in funeral processions of the New Kingdom.<sup>26</sup> Sometimes they carry a shrine (or the invisible mummy within a shrine) and sometimes they carry the mummy. They have the tail curved upward and forward in the position that thenceforward became standard for the funerary lion-bed, and they generally (but not always) lack the footboard.<sup>27</sup> This is the bed on which the mummy nearly always lies in the

scenes of Anubis embalming or revivifying the mummy, so familiar from the papyri of the Book of the Dead.<sup>28</sup> These scenes appear for the first time in the 18th Dynasty,<sup>29</sup> and become very popular for tomb walls in the 19th<sup>30</sup> and for painted coffins, cartonnage, shrouds, stelae, etc., in Late Dynastic and Greek and Roman times.<sup>31</sup> The funerary lion-bed of the ancient pictures appears sometimes with and sometimes without a canopy.

The form of the funerary beds mentioned above, and their apparent function, would strongly suggest that the wooden lion-bed from the tomb of Tutankhamun<sup>32</sup> was used during the king's funeral to carry his mummy or some important accessory. Its purely ritual character is confirmed by its two companion pieces, one in the form of a Hathor cow and the other in the form of a composite hippopotamus and lion representing the goddess Ta-weret. It is likely that the three beds were part of the standard burial equipment of the time, at least for kings. The remains of three similar beds (lion, Hathor, Ta-weret) were found in the tomb of Haremheb.<sup>33</sup> The two sets of beds, which must represent an established tradition for royal burials, may have been designed to support statue shrines since they were associated with such shrines in the tomb of Haremheb, and since very similar lion-beds are shown carrying shrines in funeral scenes in private tombs. But they are of light wooden construction, are of the same length as the king's beds of daily life, and are provided with footboards. It is tempting to suppose that each of the three may have been intended to carry the dead king at different times, perhaps for specific periods prescribed by ritual during the long interval between death and burial. It may be noted at this point that in the Tutankhamun set of funerary beds (and therefore probably in the actual private funerary beds represented by the two-dimensional lion-beds of the New Kingdom pictures) the old form of the two lions supporting the frame had persisted, a literal symbolism carried down from the Old Kingdom and seen not only in the Djoser alabaster offering tables but also in the thrones of the Chefredjwep statues.<sup>34</sup> The lion throne of Tutankhamun, on the other hand, while like that of the Chefredjwep statues possessing lion's heads, follows the more functional tradition of ordinary upper-class furniture in having *simple* legs instead of two lion's legs together beneath each lion's head.<sup>35</sup> It is perhaps natural that the literal symbolism of two lions supporting the king should survive for a much longer period in purely funerary design, and that it should submit to the gradual democratization which was the slow fate of so many of the prerogatives of ancient Egyptian royalty.<sup>36</sup>

Since the lion-bed had by the 18th Dynasty become definitely associated with funerals it is not surprising that it also appears in scenes of the death and resurrection of Osiris himself. Thus it is the bed on which Osiris lies with Isis as a falcon, in the Temple of Sety I at Abydos,<sup>37</sup> and in similar scenes in the late temples.<sup>38</sup> There is also the curious basalt lion-headed Osiris bier of the 26th Dynasty from the "Tomb of Osiris" at Abydos,<sup>39</sup> which bears little resemblance to the wooden funerary beds.





We have seen from the ancient pictures that a standard type of funerary lion-bed, for private persons, was established by the 18th Dynasty and was very frequently represented in later funerary art. But actual examples have seldom survived, a fact which might suggest that these beds were not ordinarily buried in the tomb, except in the case of royal funerals, when they may have been included, like the embalming material, on account of the special tabus connected with the kingship. No surviving wooden lion-beds designed to carry private persons can be attributed, I believe, to a date earlier than Greek and Roman times, with the possible exception of a partly restored wooden bed with bronze corner-fittings, in Hildesheim.<sup>40</sup>








A remarkable wooden lion-bed of the Ptolemaic period in Cairo was found by Maspero at Akhmim in 1885.<sup>41</sup> It is of traditional lion form, with up-curved tails, and it has a canopy which is decorated on each side with a file of seated deities in polychrome *ajouré* work, each deity holding a *maat* feather. The vaulted *ajouré* roof consists of spread vultures above an elaborate cavetto cornice which is surmounted by a uraeus frieze. A file of smaller seated deities is painted on the frame of the bed, and kneeling figures of Isis and Nephthys are carved in the round on the roof, one at each end. A canopied bed in Berlin<sup>42</sup> closely resembles the Akhmim bed and must be of approximately the same date. A baldequin in Edinburgh,<sup>43</sup> in the form of a columned shrine with a uraeus frieze surmounting the triple cornice of the façade, probably was part of a similar bed.

The Akhmim funerary bed and its close relative in Berlin are the only surviving parallels to the Toronto bed known to me, and are clearly several centuries older. A Ptolemaic date for the Akhmim bed can be accepted. In its general design it differs from our bed stylistically, particularly in its informed adherence to tradition. By comparison ours is debased and incoherent. But it is the painted scenes on our bed that definitely place this extraordinary piece of furniture in the Roman period, probably as late as the third century A.D., and certainly not earlier than the second.

### 3. *The Inscriptions: General Comments and the Personal Names*

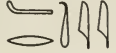


In the following description of the painted scenes on our bed most, but not all, of the figures have been identified. Many are recognizable without the accompanying inscription, and very often a familiar attribute gives a clue to a hieroglyphic label which is so debased that it would otherwise be beyond recognition. Often, however, the figure is identified entirely by the inscription. Regardless of present errors and uncertainties it will be clear that some of the writing on this object is garbled and that some was illegible when written. It will also be clear that on the whole these extremely distorted hieroglyphs, like the crude pictures which they accompany, are far from meaningless. There are no Greek or demotic inscriptions on the bed. (Professor R. J. Williams has read this paper and has corrected some flagrant linguistic errors. He cannot be held responsible for those that remain.)

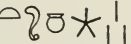
The detailed photographs (Pls. III–XIII) indicate to what extent the hieroglyphs are legible. Even in some cases where the meaning of a whole word is clear certain of the component signs cannot be identified. These inscriptions may well be too corrupt and too inconsequential to warrant the attention of someone better qualified for the task, and I am therefore presenting them here to the best of my limited ability. With the exception of the garbled inscriptions beneath the lion's heads and the poorly preserved one at the foot of the bed, the hieroglyphs simply identify the human and divine figures, of which there are approximately one hundred in the painted scenes (not including the fifteen anonymous demons). The names of the deities are nearly always followed by the signs  *ntr* (m) or  *ntrt* (f), and in a few cases by epithets.

There can be no doubt whatever concerning the name of the owner of the bed,    *hrtȝ*, which occurs ten times. The name of the lady who shares with him the honours of the bed, and who is probably but not necessarily his wife, is equally certain. It is     *t3-šryt-n(t)-ntrw*, which occurs seven times.


Except for a single doubtful instance to be mentioned below, Herty's and Ta-sheryet-neteru's names stand alone, without filiation, titles or other identification. This simplicity in denoting the owner and his lady contributes to the general impression that the inscriptions on our bed belong to a late stage in the disintegration of the hieroglyphic script. For the Roman period, however, few instances at all have been recorded of private


names in hieroglyphic and still fewer are securely dated.<sup>44</sup> We can only observe that such simplification would be consistent with the scarcity and degradation of hieroglyphic writing which became extreme during the third century. A fragmentary painted shroud in the University Museum, Philadelphia,<sup>45</sup> bears the names of the owner and his father and mother in a corrupt hieroglyphic inscription. The hieroglyphs of the Philadelphia shroud are comparable to ours, and may be noted here as perhaps another very late example of hieroglyphic containing personal names.

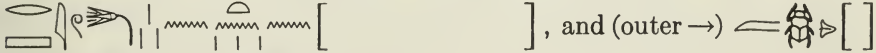
The name  *hrt*y is unusual. It is perhaps the same as that of the 20th-Dynasty stable-master, probably a foreign settler, mentioned in the Wilbour Papyrus,<sup>46</sup> where the name is written with a single ; and there is a  *p3-hrt(y)* of the Late Period.<sup>47</sup> The name *hrt*y occurs in a demotic text in Cairo dated 138 or 137 B.C.<sup>48</sup> Thus the name of the owner of our bed may have long been naturalized in Egypt, although originally foreign. It is possible, however, that it came to Egypt from abroad in Roman times (see p. 16 below).

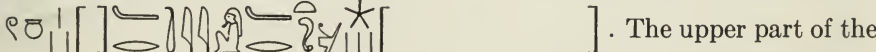



The name  *t3-šryt-n(t)-ntrw* ("the daughter of the gods") is unknown to me elsewhere in hieroglyphic. But it does occur on a mummy-ticket in both demotic and Greek.<sup>49</sup> The Greek form of the name is ΣΕΥΕΥ-*τηρίς*. During the period of the mummy-tickets (second to fourth century A.D.), similarly compounded Egyptian names were particularly common.<sup>50</sup>

For the two vertical columns of hieroglyphs on each side of the front of the bed, below the lion's heads (Pls. III and IV), little can be attempted here. The left-hand columns (inner column →

 and (outer column ←

 are comparatively clear. The upper part of these columns seems to be simply: *ḏd mdw in wsir (n?) hrt*y (inner) ("words spoken by Osiris to (?) Herty") and *ḏd mdw in wsir (n?) t3-šryt-n(t)-ntrw* (outer) ("... to Senentēris"). *t3-šryt* is corruptly written above *wsir*. The lower part of the same columns, which in each case appears to be *ms n t3-šst* ("born of Taesi")<sup>51</sup> is uncertain. The right-hand columns are obscure: (inner ←

 and (outer →

]. The upper part of the inner column is probably: *ršw ntn n* . . . , "Rejoice in . . ."<sup>52</sup> The large sign immediately below this seems to be the cobra on a basket , with horns.<sup>53</sup> For the outer column, *m hpr*<sup>54</sup> [  ] *hrt*y *hr t3-šryt-n(t)-ntrw* [  ],<sup>55</sup> no meaning can be suggested except that it mentions both Herty and Senentēris.



## 4. Detailed Description of the Pictorial Decoration

In front, below the surmounting uraeus frieze (Pl. IV), we see a winged sun-disk with uraei. This sun-disk is flanked by fifteen unnamed seated demons facing outwards, seven on the left side and eight on the right. Each holds a knife, and they probably represent the Guardians of the Gates in Chapter 146 of the Book of the Dead.<sup>56</sup> The two wide registers below contain files of deities, thirty figures in all, who are consistently but often illegibly named in crude hieroglyphic characters. Between these main registers are a carved and painted uraeus frieze (above), similar to but smaller than the surmounting frieze, and a second winged sun-disk (below). The sun-disk is flanked by fifteen erect serpents: eight narrow-necked on the left and seven cobras on the right. These possibly represent the serpents accompanying the Guardians of the Gates shown above.<sup>57</sup> At the very bottom, below the lower wide register, is a narrow painted band, a corruption of the traditional dado design which was in its remote origins derived from the *srh* façade.<sup>58</sup>





In the upper of the two main registers stand human-headed Osiris (right centre) and falcon-headed Sokar-Osiris (left centre), each attended by seven gods and goddesses. Behind Osiris stands an unidentified human-headed goddess (caption lost in splintered edge) and before him Nut; then a falcon-headed god (Month?),<sup>59</sup> Anubis (*inpw hnty sh.f*), Nut (surprisingly but clearly again), a falcon-headed god (Horus-Aha?),<sup>60</sup> and a human-headed goddess (Anukis?).<sup>61</sup> Behind Sokar-Osiris stands Nephthys(?) and before him Isis(?),<sup>62</sup> Horus Son of Osiris(?),<sup>63</sup> a human-headed goddess (Bastet?),<sup>64</sup> Anubis, Horus Son of Osiris (again), and an unidentified ram-headed god.<sup>65</sup> In this register seven of the deities on the right and five on the left are accompanied by a group of four symbols: a bucket  $\nabla$ , a door  $\sqsubset$ , and two loops of cord with ends upward  $\times$ . The group, which I have not found elsewhere, is perhaps a corruption of the *šnw*, *mw*, *i3b* group signifying physical resurrection, often seen on stelae and in tomb paintings of the New Kingdom.<sup>66</sup> Most of the deities in this register, attendant on the two mummiform gods, carry a cup or bucket and a cloth or bandage, probably to be interpreted as objects connected with embalming.

The lower of the two main registers shows Osiris-Sokar enthroned (left centre), attended by six deities, and Sokar-Osiris enthroned<sup>67</sup> (right centre), attended by five deities who are followed by the owner of the bed. Behind Osiris-Sokar is Nephthys, with epithet *mn't 3*, and in front of him, from right to left, are Isis, Hathor (with epithet *nbt pt*), a human-headed goddess



named simply ʿ3t,<sup>68</sup> Anubis (with epithet *nb t3 ȝsr*), and a falcon-headed god, probably Re-Horus. Behind Sokar-Osiris is a human-headed goddess, probably Bastet<sup>69</sup> (with epithet *mrt*), and in front of him, from left to right, Nephthys, Nut, Hathor (with epithet *ms(t n) rꜥ ?*), Anubis (with epithet *nb t3 ȝsr*) and, as already noted, Herty. Herty has yellow hair and seems to be dressed in a plain white, ungirt tunic with a mantle over both shoulders (Pl. III). In spite of the crudeness of the drawing he looks conspicuously alive in the decadent company of the gods, who are drawn in the traditional Egyptian style, while he reveals Western influence. This stylistic contrast between the gods and the humans is more striking in the scenes on the sides of the bed (see below). Yet wherever Herty and his lady appear they are clearly drawn by the same artist who drew the gods with whom they are consorting.

Turning now to the right side of the bed (Pl. I), we see at the left end of the pictorial panel (Pl. V) a *djed* symbol<sup>70</sup> surmounted by a degenerate *atef* crown with enormous uraei (left side of crown damaged). To its right Osiris, or a form of Osiris,<sup>71</sup> is enthroned before a table of offerings and between Isis (behind) and an unidentified human-headed goddess, perhaps Nephthys.<sup>72</sup>

This unidentified goddess is followed by a human-headed god carrying a sail. He is designated by the Horus-falcon  above a cartouche containing the two signs . Since the second sign has the value *nfr* in Egyptian of the late periods the group is probably to be read *wn-nfr*.<sup>73</sup> A sail, signifying the breath of life and frequently carried by the deceased in the Book of the Dead,<sup>74</sup> seems out of place in a file of deities, but it is perhaps not unsuitable that Onnophris, the form of Osiris particularly connected with regeneration,<sup>75</sup> should carry one. This Onnophris is followed by Anubis (*inpw hnty sh-f*); two falcon-headed gods, probably called Horus  and Horus Son of Osiris ; and Wep-wawet. Each of the four gods offers two cups similar to those carried by the gods in the upper register on the front of the bed.




Next to Wep-wawet stand Herty and Senentēris adoring (Pl. VI). Herty's badly damaged figure was clad in white, probably a tunic of which only the upper part is preserved. The garment is possibly decorated with clavi. A white mantle falls behind him and over the left arm. The lady is dressed in a white ungirt tunic with red clavi. Here too a white mantle, falling behind from the shoulders, seems to be indicated by the costume's greater length and pointed flare on the left side. Both humans form part of the long file of deities paying homage to the enthroned Osiris but here as elsewhere Herty and his lady are drawn in front view. The file is continued by (1) Anubis (*inpw hnty sh-f*) adoring, (2) a human-headed goddess, perhaps called Nebet-nehemet,<sup>76</sup> carrying a tray of offerings, (3) Hapy<sup>77</sup> hold-

ing two flowing waterpots, (4) a human-headed goddess, perhaps Tefnut,<sup>78</sup> also carrying a tray, (5) a human-headed goddess carrying two flaming pots, possibly Nesret,<sup>79</sup> (6) a human-headed goddess carrying two pots(?), perhaps Wadjet,<sup>80</sup> and a human-headed goddess named Heret,<sup>81</sup> carrying two *nw*-pots.

Next to Heret (Pl. VII) is the psychostasis, with Thoth on the left and Horus on the right beneath the balance.<sup>82</sup> The contents of the left-hand pan must represent, or be an uncomprehending copy of, the seated figure of Maat. It would be more hazardous to offer a suggestion about the formless contents of the right-hand pan, which could represent the heart but is perhaps intended for the "soul" in human form, known in the Roman period as a substitute for the heart in this scene.<sup>83</sup> Upon the balance-post sits a cynocephalus, flanked by the two birth symbols, human-headed bricks.<sup>84</sup>

Next, a divine bird, with a *menat* attached to the back of its head,<sup>85</sup> is seated on a corniced edifice. This bird, which incongruously dwarfs the psychostasis, resembles the falcon on pedestal seen in the vignettes to Chapter 78 of the Book of the Dead, but I believe that the label should be read *šnty*.<sup>86</sup> It would thus be identified with the heron of Chapter 84, a bird into which the soul of the deceased might transform himself.<sup>87</sup> Close to the bird is Herty's mummy standing upright in a gabled shrine, and duly labelled *hrtȝ*.

There follows the scene of Herty's embalmment by Anubis, with Isis at the head and Nephthys at the foot. The three deities are named but Herty's name is omitted. The lion-bed is provided with thick, transversely-striped bedding, such as is often seen in representations of these beds in the late periods and occasionally earlier.<sup>88</sup>

Next we see (Pl. VIII) Anubis first consorting with Herty and then with Senentēris, who is accompanied on the other side by Hathor. Beneath the Anubis with Senentēris is plainly written  ("mis-statement," "un-truth"). A tentative explanation of these four hieroglyphs is here put forward. The lady probably survived her companion, since she is not once called *mꜣ hꜣrw*, while Herty is nearly always so designated. Could it be that the *iw-ms* written with her Anubis was intended to show that she was not yet ready for the divine embalmer, or to prevent the scene from being an evil omen? The signs between the two figures are corrupt: The first two seem to be the beginning of the lady's name  and a sign below these may be  *dsr*, of Anubis' epithet. In this double scene Herty wears a plain white tunic and a mantle falling at the left side and pulled diagonally across the front. Senentēris wears a white ungirt tunic with clavi, which is also provided with horizontal bands (decoration or folds?), and over this she perhaps wears a mantle falling behind from the shoulders. Herty's consistently yellow hair contrasts as usual with Senentēris' hair, which is always black. Here and elsewhere the artist also distinguishes between Herty's

fair skin and the darker skin of his lady. This very clear indication of Ḥerty's non-Egyptian origin makes it tempting to suggest, in spite of the earlier parallels cited above (p. 9), that his name was a recent import, and to look for northern counterparts. He might have come, of course, from anywhere in the Roman Empire. He might have been a north Italian, a Gaul, or even a German.<sup>89</sup> The Italian name Hirtius is the only name which so far comes to mind as a possibility.<sup>90</sup>

In the final scene on this side Ḥerty, kneeling, receives food and drink from the Goddess of the Sycamore whose hands issue from the tree holding a flowing waterpot and a tray. Here he wears a plain white, ungirt tunic, without mantle.

The corresponding frieze on the opposite side of the bed (Pl. II) begins at the head end (Pl. IX) with a cult object, of which only the lower part survives. This is probably the Abydos symbol (*Grammar*, R 18) on a tall stand, to judge from the accompanying legend which seems to be read *nb 3bdw*,<sup>91</sup> and from the enthroned mummiform figure to the left which doubtless represent Osiris (or a form of Osiris, the upper part of the figure and its caption being lost). This enthroned god is attended by Isis, standing behind him. An unidentified god (Horus?)<sup>92</sup> faces him, across a table of offerings. Next, a large figure of the monster Ammut, with the body of a lioness and with a serpent's tail, is seated on a corniced pedestal, holding a knife in each forepaw.<sup>93</sup> The identification by legend and picture is supported by the appearance of a human-headed birth-brick above her, probably labelled *mshnt*,<sup>94</sup> and of Thoth<sup>95</sup> behind her, holding a papyrus roll. The whole group, with the enthroned Osiris, suggests the psychostasis again, but there is certainly no room for the scales in the damaged area. It seems likely either that Ammut and the rest of this group are intended as an appendix to the psychostasis scene on the other side of the bed or that a second psychostasis was here omitted through ignorance or spatial miscalculation.

To the left of Thoth we see Ḥerty and Senentēris standing side by side, attended by Anubis. Ḥerty wears a plain white, ungirt tunic and a mantle draped around the neck and over the left arm.<sup>96</sup> Senentēris wears a white ungirt tunic with clavi and a scarf passing diagonally over the right upper arm.<sup>97</sup> Both humans hold branches or bunches of flowers(?) in their left hands.<sup>98</sup> Ḥerty holds a staff in his right, and the lady's right is perhaps resting on a small offering table.

Next a standing mummiform god,<sup>99</sup> probably Osiris, is adored by Isis<sup>100</sup> (Pl. X), and to their left Ḥerty and Senentēris appear again, this time alone. Here Ḥerty is wearing a white garment which I suggest with hesitation might be a toga, of the type in vogue under Philip the Arab (244–249).<sup>101</sup> Senentēris wears a white ungirt tunic with clavi, this time without a mantle. Both hold in their left hand floral objects similar to those which they carry in their last appearance to the right, and Ḥerty again holds a staff.



To their left Isis and Nephthys kneel and adore the rising(?) sun,<sup>102</sup> and Wep-wawet in animal form lies on a shrine, holding a knife.<sup>103</sup>


To the left of Wep-wawet four cynocephali adore Shu, who emerges from the earth with the solar disk on his head, as seen in Chapter 15-16 of the Book of the Dead<sup>104</sup> (Pl. XI).

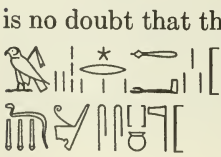
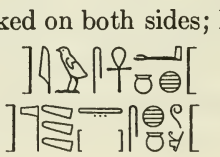
Next a corpse rests on a lion-bed, similar to that shown on the other side. Isis kneels at the head and Nephthys at the foot, but Anubis is absent. In consequence the bed is larger and shows the four canopic jars beneath it, their lids clearly and correctly in the form of baboon, human, dog, and falcon. The bedding again has decorative stripes. Both lion's heads are shown, in a curious departure from the traditional (but legs and tail are shown singly). The hieroglyphs above the corpse are difficult and partly lost. I would venture, however, to suggest Ta-sheryet-neteru,<sup>105</sup> a supposition which is perhaps supported by the black hair.

Next Horus and Thoth stand in front of what I suggest may represent two of the doors of the four winds which are opened, properly by Thoth, in Chapter 161 of the Book of the Dead (Pl. XII),<sup>106</sup> although the artist may not have clearly understood the meaning of his subject.




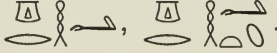
To the left of this scene Herty and Senentēris stand in prayer. His white costume is probably a plain tunic with a mantle, which falls in front from the left shoulder and is wrapped around the right side. The lady again wears a white tunic with clavi, and no mantle. Both are clearly provided with footwear of some sort, traces of which can be tantalizingly seen not only here but in many of their other appearances. By examining not one but several of these faint indications one can be sure that Herty sometimes wears sandals fastened with thongs crossed around the ankle and as far as the middle of the calf.<sup>107</sup> Senentēris almost certainly is sometimes shod, but it is impossible to determine the appearance of her sandals, or shoes, more specifically.

Finally, Herty, this time dressed in nothing but archaizing broad collar and short skirt, once more receives refreshment from the Goddess of the Sycamore.

The ogdoad<sup>108</sup> at the foot of the bed fills the wider panel formed by the bed frame and a narrow skirt (Pl. XIII). The eight deities stand, four on each side, adoring two symbols in the centre, which seem to be the ideograms  and which I suggest with hesitation might be interpreted as *tpy ib*, "the foremost(?) of intelligence."<sup>109</sup> Immediately above the eight figures is a blue band of sky carrying hieroglyphs reading from the centre.

This inscription is very poorly preserved. I can make little of it, but there is no doubt that the ogdoad is invoked on both sides; left side ←: . Right side →: .<sup>110</sup>

The eight deities are labelled on the left (from the centre) Kuk and Kauket, Nun and Naunet, and on the right Huh and Hauhet, Hemsu and Hemset. The two pairs on the right are properly represented as two frog-headed gods each accompanied by a serpent-headed goddess. On the left, however, both the heads and the sexes are confused, for the male figures are serpent-headed and the females are frog-headed, and Kauket is represented as male and Nun as female. The pair Hemsu, Hemset is a rare substitution for the original pair Amun, Amaunet.<sup>111</sup>

While ogdoads at Thebes generally, but not always, retain Amun, Amaunet,<sup>112</sup> substitutes (i.e. substitute names) for Amun, Amaunet generally appear in Graeco-Roman ogdoads which belong to places other than Thebes. The commonest of these substitutions is Niau, Niat(?) ,  and occasionally there are also found , perhaps a variant of Niau, Niat, and Gereh, Gerhet .

The occurrence of Hemsu, Hemset is noted only twice by Sethe, who suggests that they are derived from the word *hmsi*, "to sit, dwell," and that they personify motionless existence. The first instance is in a most irregular ogdoad consisting of two opposed groups of three pairs each. He interprets the two extra pairs as (1) the addition of the substitute Niau, Niat after Amun, Amaunet, and (2) the addition of Hemsu, Hemset after Kuk, Kauket on the other side for the sake of symmetry. The second instance is in a partially preserved ogdoad, also irregular, where one of the goddesses is named Niat-Hemset (Niau-Hemsu is missing), and the Amun pair is similarly identified with the Nun pair. Both of these ogdoads belong to the Ptolemaic period.<sup>113</sup> I have found no mention elsewhere of the pair Hemsu, Hemset.

Since the ogdoad was worshipped at Medinet Habu during the Ptolemaic period one might expect to find it adopted into Theban burial customs of Roman times. But it does not occur in the Book of the Dead or other funerary documents,<sup>114</sup> and I do not know of any representations of it among tomb furniture except on our bed.

## 5. The Problem of Dating the Bed:

### General Considerations

We have seen that both the religious scenes and the hieroglyphs of our bed are corrupt and careless in the extreme, and that, at the same time, they surprisingly represent a mass of detailed traditional lore, with scarcely a trace of Greek influence. Only the human figures depart radically from the pharaonic tradition, and these are not incongruous with the rest of the figures, in spite of being drawn *en face* and in contemporary dress.

The Egyptian upper classes were thoroughly Hellenized even before the Roman conquest. Under the early Roman Empire the progressive absorption of the foreign and Hellenized minority by the overwhelming majority of the native population, the spread of Alexandrian products and ideas, and the disintegration of Egyptian traditions created degenerate and hybrid forms of expression which varied according to the locality, nationality, and social status of the patron and the traditions of the artist or craftsman. Of course, the funeral furniture maintained its ancient forms much longer than did the arts and crafts of daily life.<sup>115</sup> Both the panel portraits of pure Greek style and workmanship (mostly from the Fayum and Lower Egypt) and the Hellenized masks descended from pharaonic prototypes were placed over the heads of mummies which were also provided with cartonnage, shrouds, and coffins showing representations of the old Egyptian gods in traditional form. This incongruity may be explained by the spread and weakening of Hellenism. But the gradual fusion of the two traditions represents a more advanced stage in the final disintegration of ancient Egyptian pictorial art, a stage that is well illustrated, I believe, by the Toronto bed. The frequent appearances of the two humans of the bed are integrated with the rest of the scheme, showing that the decoration was drawn, painted, and inscribed by a single artist (or possibly by a single team of outline draughtsman, colourist, and scribe) for a specific patron, who must have had a living interest in the old lore.<sup>116</sup>

Pagan cults flourished even during the rapid rise of Christianity in the third century, and did not die out completely until the sixth. They were forbidden altogether by Theodosius (379-395), but the Blemmyes supported Isis worship in the region of Philae until the last pagan temples were closed there in 543, in the reign of Justinian.<sup>117</sup> While the Greeks and other foreigners in the land gradually adopted Egyptian beliefs, the variety of foreign cults practised by them had little effect on the old pharaonic religion, which was the natural rallying ground for Egyptian nationalism. At



the same time, the ancient ritual and symbolism were gradually losing their meaning, and becoming simplified.<sup>118</sup> In the Thebaid, with its proud past and its remoteness from Alexandrian influences, these old beliefs must have persisted longer than in most other parts of Egypt.

How late could such a document as our bed have been produced at Thebes, and are there any means of assigning it to an approximate date? If indeed it is as late as the third century it affords a remarkable, and in some ways unique, example of the survival of hieroglyphic.

For all purposes other than the ritual of temple and tomb hieroglyphic had, of course, died out long before the Roman period. For ritual purposes it seems to have been generally abandoned earlier than were the representations of scenes from traditional religious myth, but it continued to be understood by a dwindling number of priests until the later Roman Empire.

The latest known hieroglyphic inscription is from the island of Philae and is dated A.D. 394 (reign of Theodosius).<sup>119</sup> The stele of Diocletian from Ermant (A.D. 295) and the inscription of Decius at Esna (249–251) are crude stereotypes which reveal how low had sunk the art of hieroglyphic writing in the third century, even when used in the service of imperial propaganda. The few private grave stelae of the Roman period bearing hieroglyphic inscriptions are seldom datable, but stylistic comparison with the stele of Diocletian suggests that on the later private stelae hieroglyphs are generally absent or illegible.<sup>120</sup> Of special interest is a very crude round-topped grave stele in Cairo bearing a short hieroglyphic inscription, almost illegible, which mentions the owner's name, without further identification.<sup>121</sup> This stele, which will be further discussed below, is attributed by Kamal to the Antonine or Severan period, on stylistic grounds. Quite different from any of the above stelae is a curious stucco plaque of mixed style in Hildesheim, inspired by Egyptian temple reliefs and dated by Roeder to the second-third century A.D.<sup>122</sup> It bears precise but incorrect and scarcely intelligible hieroglyphs.

Very few hieroglyphic inscriptions on mummies or coffins have been found that can be definitely assigned to a date later than the first century A.D., when tomb furniture was fast disappearing. While the usual traditional scenes from the Book of the Dead continued in the early Roman period to be painted on the cartonnage surrounding mummy masks, and on other mummy accessories, in pure Egyptian style, they are seldom any longer accompanied by hieroglyphic inscriptions, and when hieroglyphs do appear on these objects they are stock formulae seldom containing the name of the owner, who is often identified in demotic or Greek.<sup>123</sup> The fragmentary shroud in Philadelphia mentioned above,<sup>124</sup> which has an extensive border band of very debased hieroglyphic, seems to be quite exceptional in this regard.

By means of association with datable hieroglyphic inscriptions or indirectly by means of hieroglyphic associated with datable demotic, palaeog-

raphy may sometime bring more tangible evidence to bear on the problem of whether our bed should be assigned to the period of the later Roman Empire. It is unlikely, however, that such evidence will be forthcoming in view of the scarcity of comparable painted hieroglyphic inscriptions. The general clumsiness of the hieroglyphs and the absence of titles and patronymics for the two personal names suggest a comparatively late period, but any attempt to show that the bed is later than the second century must rest mainly on iconography and general style. On both these counts the human figures are of first importance, although very little comparative material exists.



## 6. *Iconographic Considerations*

Senentēris' tunic, with its conspicuous clavi, deserves our first attention. In spite of the sketchiness of the drawing it is clear that the length of its skirt, which is about to the middle of the calf, is intentional, for this length is consistent in the various figures and is slightly longer than Herty's. The lady's tunic is, like his, always white. The clavi are visible in unbroken lines from shoulder to hem; the neckline is angular, and the sleeves are elbow-length and rather narrow. One (only) of her tunics shows three horizontally curved bands in front (Pl. VIII). These bands cannot be easily explained as other than ornamental, but I have found no representations of tunics of the Roman period showing a similar arrangement of bands, with a single doubtful exception;<sup>125</sup> over this puzzling tunic she seems to wear a mantle falling behind from the shoulders and leaving the whole length of the front of the tunic visible. She seems to wear a mantle in the same manner again (Pl. VI), but in yet another place (Pl. IX) she wears a scarf with the middle section passing diagonally over her breast, one end over her left shoulder, and the other end over her right arm. This manner of wearing a scarf resembles the dress of the lady seen on a shroud in Cairo considered by Edgar to be later than the middle of the third century.<sup>126</sup> It also resembles that of the lady on the remarkable shroud in the Metropolitan Museum, called Antonine by Reinach but probably later.<sup>127</sup> In her remaining two appearances (Pls. X, XII) Senentēris clearly wears nothing over her tunic. Her coiffure is unclear, but in Plate XII it seems to have a centre part and tight waves drawn to the back of the head, and it is probably the same in her other appearances. Jewellery, with the possible exception of earrings with her unusual dress in Plate VIII, is not indicated, doubtless on account of the small scale.

This white tunic, ungirt, straight, and comparatively short, at once suggests that the human beings shown on our bed lived during the later Roman Empire. It must be admitted that among the limited number of paintings, mosaics, and sculptures of the Roman world in which one may look for this type of dress there are third-century figures wearing tunics constricted by a girdle or partly obscured by a mantle draped, according to a time-honoured fashion, over the left shoulder and pulled across the front of the waist, and there are some whose tunics fall to the ground. In view of the scarcity of comparable material it may seem hazardous to affirm that the particular style worn by Senentēris did not appear earlier.<sup>128</sup> I can only say that after considerable searching I have been unable to find any earlier examples. Representations of ladies of second-century Egypt and earlier generally have longer skirts and have the waist either girdled or enveloped in a mantle. For example, one can contrast our lady with the following second-

century ladies: a female statue in Alexandria,<sup>129</sup> the lady of the Tuna el-Gebel tomb-painting,<sup>130</sup> and the Demeter in a Fayum house-painting.<sup>131</sup> There is also the elaborate type of moulded and painted mummy cartonnage found at Akhmim and dated not later than the second century, which indicates in a conventional and ambiguous way a feminine costume definitely constricted at the waist and with a mantle over the shoulders.<sup>132</sup> Since mummy-portraits and surviving jewellery, toilet articles, and textiles show that even in Upper Egypt ladies of later Roman times belonged to a cosmopolitan world, it may be relevant to mention the frequent long, girdled feminine dress in Roman paintings such as the second-century figure of Mirra in the Vatican.<sup>133</sup> On the other hand, the simple ungirt shorter tunic appears in representations of the third century or later, when for the first time new fashions of wearing the mantle often exposed the tunic at the waist, or no mantle at all was worn over it. This new wide tunic with conspicuous, unbroken clavi appears as both a masculine and a feminine garment in a tomb-painting at El-Bagawat, Kharga Oasis, dated to about the middle of the fourth century but perhaps somewhat earlier.<sup>134</sup> It is the garment that is worn by both sexes in the paintings of the catacombs of Rome belonging to about the same period.<sup>135</sup> I have already suggested that the Metropolitan Museum female shroud with similar costume probably should be dated to the third century. A wall-painting in Rome dated to the third century shows Ulysses' Penelope wearing an ungirt tunic with clavi, and no mantle.<sup>136</sup> The observation that Senentēris' costume is always white may be of little significance, but the late mummy-portraits of women certainly show a high incidence of white tunics, while those of the first and second centuries are generally coloured, in contrast to the masculine tunic which is always white.<sup>137</sup>

It is strange that the clavi do not usually appear on Ḥerty's tunic, for at least during the first six centuries of the Christian era this style of dress ornament seems to have been generally used in Egypt both for masculine and for feminine wear. One is tempted to speculate whether Ḥerty's presumably foreign blood (see p. 13, above) might not have affected his taste in dress. In any case, the absence of the clavi makes it more difficult to guess what kind of garment the artist intended to show over the tunic, or whether the latter was worn without any overgarment at all.<sup>138</sup> But the looseness and the apparent absence of both girdle and enveloping mantle<sup>139</sup> in Ḥerty's costume would also suggest a late date, for the loose, ungirt tunic seems to have come into fashion at about the same time for men and for women.<sup>140</sup>

I have mentioned that in one of his appearances (Pl. X) Ḥerty may perhaps be wearing a toga. If so, it is of the late type familiar from the Vatican bust of Philip the Arab (244-249),<sup>141</sup> who wears a toga with wide stiff fold (*tabula*) across the front, from the left shoulder to the right arm-pit. An anonymous full-length statue in the Alexandria Museum<sup>142</sup> wears a toga

with the same stiff *tabula*, and the costume is of about the same length as that of the figure of Herty in question. Petrie calls the garment worn by a figure on a painted mummy-cloth from Hawara "a white toga with a stole of black and colours."<sup>143</sup> Whether or not this identification is correct the object is certainly late work, and the transverse lines across the breast as well as the drapery over the left arm resembles our figure. I have also mentioned a crude round-topped stele in Cairo from Abydos, attributed to the Antonine or Severan period.<sup>144</sup> The male owner of this stele, who is shown frontally between Osiris and Anubis, wears a garment which Kamal calls a toga. If toga it is indeed, its wide straight diagonal fold across the breast, again resembling our costume in its general lines, would date it to the third century, to which it should probably be assigned on stylistic grounds. Like these two examples from Hawara and Abydos our costume cannot be considered a toga with complete confidence.

Even if the artist did not have a toga in mind, this particular figure on our bed does suggest a late date. Its sketchy lines could scarcely have been intended to depict the fashions of wearing the mantle generally illustrated in painting and sculpture of the early Empire. But it might represent a mantle folded or gathered lengthwise at the upper edge, passed diagonally across the chest, over the left shoulder and under the right arm-pit, and hanging down at the right side of the body, as seen on the Kom Abou Billou stelae (late third-early fourth century).<sup>145</sup> The mantle worn by Herty in his next appearance to the right (Pl. IX) seems to be draped around the neck and to fall behind and over the left arm, another style which came into vogue in the late Empire.<sup>146</sup>

Scarcely any painting on tomb walls has survived from Roman Egypt, and even less which contains mythological scenes in the pharaonic tradition. The inadequately published tomb paintings of Akhmim and Qau el-Kebir are probably later than the well-known Tuna el-Gebel tomb paintings of mixed style,<sup>147</sup> and are of the greatest importance in the present study. At both Akhmim and Qau el-Kebir they are now almost completely destroyed. Bissing has recently drawn attention to them in two articles on the Akhmim tombs, based on his notes taken on visits to the site in 1897 and 1913.<sup>148</sup>

Vestiges of the Qau el-Kebir paintings are photographed in Steckeweh and Steindorff, *Die Fürstengräber von Qaw*, where a fully surviving figure of the deceased is shown in an ungirt tunic with clavi and a mantle draped over both shoulders (Pl. 22a). These paintings were described by Nestor l'Hôte,<sup>149</sup> who visited the site early in the nineteenth century. He wrote that they contained scenes from Egyptian funerary mythology of the usual sort (Osiris, the deceased on a lion-bed attended by Isis and Nephthys, Anubis, the psychostasis, etc.), all without inscriptions, and that the ceilings and parts of the walls were decorated with Hellenic designs, such as vines and garlands. Bissing remarks on the close similarity between the paintings of the two sites.



Like those of Qau el-Kebir, the Akhmim tombs displayed traditional Egyptian scenes, in which their owners were represented among the gods. These humans are not among the drawings shown in Bissing's two publications, and are not described in detail, but they are several times mentioned as wearing Roman dress, and in one instance the man's costume is called a Graeco-Roman tunic.<sup>150</sup> The traditional Egyptian scenes show Roman influence, particularly in some interesting conceptual details, and as at Qau el-Kebir pure Hellenic motifs were employed in other parts of the decoration. At Akhmim the rare inscriptions indicated that hieroglyphic was still understood by those who were responsible for their execution. Many of the same subjects occurred in the religious scenes as on our bed: the psychostasis, Shu emerging from the earth, files of deities, the mummy on a lion-bed attended by Isis and Nephthys, the Goddess of the Sycamore Tree, etc. Describing one of the tombs which he visited in 1913, Bissing writes: "Sur les parois de l'antichambre, on voit le mort en prière devant Thot, Anubis et deux groupes de quatre divinités, les unes à tête de faucon, les autres à tête de serpent."<sup>151</sup> In view of the poor condition of the paintings and their crudeness (both noted by Bissing), is it possible that the "falcons" could have been frogs, and that the ogdoad was represented here?

The Akhmim tombs were visited by Rostovtzeff, who attributed them to the second or third century, on the evidence of their Greek decoration, i.e. dados, ceiling patterns, etc., and especially the floral scatter-pattern ("Streumuster").<sup>152</sup> Bissing suggests that the tomb containing this particular pattern, a tomb in which no pagan scenes were found, might have belonged to a Christian.<sup>153</sup>

Although similar in so many respects to the scenes on our bed, the Akhmim scenes were apparently more Hellenic both in subject and in style. But the occasional innovations in their representational details might be explained, according to Bissing, as mere changes in the manner of picturing traditional themes. In the Tuna el-Gebel tomb, which is probably to be dated to the second century, the ancient Egyptian gods appear with the deceased in many of the old Osirian scenes, but certain parts of the paintings, notably her purification by Thoth and Anubis (a divine act formerly reserved for kings), illustrate doctrines based on the old beliefs and adapted to changing concepts of the Graeco-Roman world.<sup>154</sup> On the other hand, the many aberrations from tradition in the scenes of our bed seem to have been caused more by ignorance than by lack of orthodoxy. Perhaps a proper study of the inscription beneath one of the lion's heads (Pl. III) might disclose an unorthodox idea, but the scenes and the rest of the accompanying legends scarcely suggest this possibility. The Deir el-Bahari mummies and the Deir el-Medina masks (see below) lend further support to the view that at Thebes there was a substantial group of people who clung to the old beliefs until a very late period, and that these beliefs persisted in the funerary customs with very little change except natural degeneration.

## 7. Stylistic Considerations

In Section 6 I have indicated that the dress of Herty and Senentēris can scarcely be earlier than the third century, and that a late date for our bed is supported by comparison of its mythological scenes with the Akhmim tomb-paintings of the late Roman period, where comparable subjects were accompanied, at least occasionally, by intelligible hieroglyphic inscriptions. An attempt will now be made to show that general considerations of style would also suggest a very late date for our bed. The discussion will be based mainly on the representation of the human figures.

The famous tomb of Petosiris,<sup>155</sup> in the same cemetery at Tuna el-Gebel (Hermopolis) as the mixed-style tomb of the second century A.D. mentioned above (Note 147), bears witness to the early impact of Greek ideas on traditionally Egyptian forms of expression. Petosiris, who must have been familiar with Greek art, deliberately commissioned his Egyptian artists to execute painted scenes in Greek style on the walls of the outer hall, or vestibule, of his tomb, while for the chapel proper he discreetly preferred Egyptian cult scenes in traditional style. The "Greek" scenes were arranged in registers according to Egyptian custom, bore hieroglyphic inscriptions and had other Egyptian features. This early experiment in the assimilation of the two incompatible traditions was apparently unique. The upper classes, who became rapidly Hellenized during the Ptolemaic period, repudiated the native art as soon as they adopted the Greek way of life. Temple reliefs and official portraits and decrees in the Egyptian style continued to be turned out for the benefit of the masses. There were wavering attempts on the part of the rulers to invent compromise forms for propaganda purposes, but there is scarcely a trace of Greek influence on private native art of the Ptolemaic period, of which few two-dimensional examples have survived except grave stelae.<sup>156</sup> During the early Roman period, as we have seen, a variety of mixed forms began to appear in funerary work, the result of gradual absorption of the Hellenized upper classes by the Egyptian masses, of disintegration of native artistic traditions, and of the spread of Alexandrian ideas. But at first this hybrid work was artificial and full of contradictions, and there seems to have been little natural fusion of style until the late Roman period. To appreciate the artificiality of the hybrid styles current in the early Roman period one might examine the second-century Alexandrian tomb at Kom esh-Shugafa,<sup>157</sup> where Egyptian motifs and conventions are introduced in an arbitrary and superficial manner, probably by Hellenized artists who understood nothing of traditional Egyptian art or religion, working for Hellenized Egyptians or for foreign

devotees of a mixed Greek and Egyptian cult. Such Hellenized tombs at Alexandria, which are more Greek than Egyptian, ought not to obscure the fact that the ancient Egyptian funeral art survived in Upper Egypt in a comparatively pure form until the third century. In the third century the political and economic disintegration of the Roman Empire had brought about renewed interest in the ancient lore, which had never completely died out.<sup>158</sup> Particularly at Thebes, one might suppose, would this survival have been strong.<sup>159</sup>

The degenerate Greek grave stelae from Kom Abou Billou, forty miles northwest of Cairo, may have a special bearing on our bed. They show conventionally frontal human figures with Egyptian symbols (sejant Anubis animals and Horus falcons). They have recently been securely dated by coins to the late third-early fourth century.<sup>160</sup> Edgar pointed out, long before, that the style of their human figures, with stiff frontal pose, is a late characteristic: "The fixed custom of representing the heads of the figures in front view is characteristic of the late period to which the stelae belong. The history of Greek relief begins with stiffly rendered profiles and ends with equally stiff representations in full face."<sup>161</sup> This "late" pose is precisely the kind of front-view representation seen in the human figures on our bed, where the heads and shoulders are rigidly *en face* and the feet, which carry the weight uncertainly between them, as in many of the Kom Abou Billou stelae, are drawn one in profile solidly on the ground and the other presenting the toes to the viewer, presumably with heel raised. It is worth noting that in the file of deities on the front of the bed (Pl. III) Herty is drawn profile in the ancient Egyptian manner and in one of his two appearances before the divine sycamore tree (Pl. XII), he is likewise drawn profile and is kneeling (here exceptionally in archaizing costume). In the other scene with the tree (Pl. VIII) his kneeling figure is similarly drawn except that the head faces the viewer, as it does in all the rest of the representations of the two humans, which are of course entirely front view. In each case our figures conform to the conventional style of Edgar's "late" stelae. The crude mixed-style stele from Abydos, in Cairo,<sup>162</sup> which we have already noted as belonging most likely to the third century, exhibits the same kind of naturalized frontality. Crude as they are these pieces are the forerunners of Coptic representational art.<sup>163</sup>

The introduction of the frontal figure from the West during the early Roman period and its subsequent naturalization into a stiff convention existing side-by-side with the profile conventional figure is a phenomenon which was not confined to Egypt. It is part of the gradual orientalization of Hellenic style, which took place over a much wider area.<sup>164</sup>

In this connection it is useful to compare the rendering of our figures with that of the female owner of the Tuna el-Gebel mixed-style tomb of the second century A.D.<sup>165</sup> The Tuna el-Gebel painting is much closer to the Greek. It is comparatively free from Egyptian convention and, what would



be unthinkable in our bed, the lady is shown neither profile nor front-view but three-quarters.

Our bed may also be compared with some unusual painted shrouds of mixed style from Antinoë,<sup>166</sup> which are very different in feeling although perhaps of approximately the same date. These Antinoë shrouds show a large central figure of the deceased and on either side of it a series of small square panels, each square containing a mythical subject, usually a figure of a god. The series of small figures within the squares are drawn from both Egyptian and Greek mythology. The debased Egyptian gods are represented in traditional Egyptian profile while the Western gods are drawn *en face*. The few hieroglyphs are meaningless and lifeless. The shrouds must be considered Greek rather than Egyptian on the whole, and they seem to bear witness to the degeneration of Greek work, and to its partial assimilation to native work. In contrast, our bed is thoroughly Egyptian, still more degenerate but less incongruous. Its human figures blend naturally with its other pictorial elements.

## 8. *Two Related Types of Late Roman Burials at Thebes*

Since the bed was purchased at Thebes early in the present century it is possible that it comes from Naville's excavations at Deir el-Bahari, and perhaps from his so-called "Coptic burials" in the rubbish mounds over the Hatshepsut Temple, near the Coptic monastery.<sup>167</sup> The distinctive type of mummy which he found in these burials was also found at Deir el-Bahari by Winlock, thirty years later.<sup>168</sup> This Deir el-Bahari type of mummy was provided with a crude mask of stuccoed and painted linen, moulded in relief over the face and extending in a flat sheet as far down as the knees. The masks are expressionless "stock portraits," whose eyes are loaded with kohl and who wear "Byzantine" crowns. On the upper part of the flat section are painted the tunic with clavi, the right hand holding a cup of wine and the left a floral object. These features remind one of the painted shroud of Ammonius from Antinoë,<sup>169</sup> and also of the latest type of panel mummy-portrait.<sup>170</sup> On the lower portion of the cartonnage there is painted a debased Egyptian mythological group, usually, but not always, a Sokar bark flanked by sejant Anubis animals. The Deir el-Bahari mummies are generally dated to the fourth century.<sup>171</sup>

Bruyère found a family tomb of late Roman date at Deir el-Medina, which contained five coffins with Greek epitaphs mentioning the Hellenized names of the owners.<sup>172</sup> On the grounds of Greek palaeography Bataille believes the tomb to be not earlier than the end of the second century and not later than the third century, although the occurrence of "the seventeenth year" in the date on one of the coffins would suggest the reign of Diocletian. I would suggest that Diocletian is the likeliest date in the light of the style and iconography of the associated mummy masks.<sup>173</sup> The masks wear floral crowns of the same type as the Deir el-Bahari mummies, and the faces of two (executed by a different hand from the rest) also resemble those of the Deir el-Bahari mummies. The long corkscrew locks appear on many of the Kom Abou Billou stelae.<sup>174</sup> The names and titles of the people who were buried in this Deir el-Medina tomb show that paganism still flourished at Thebes in their time.

The cartonnage masks of the six mummies found with the five coffins (one of which contained two eleven-year-old children) in this tomb are of a different type from those of the Deir el-Bahari mummies, in spite of the resemblances noted. The breastplates of the Deir el-Medina masks are shorter and are covered with common scenes from Egyptian religious myth, unaccompanied by inscriptions. These scenes differ according to the sex of



the deceased: the men have winged scarabs flanked by falcons, and falcon-headed demons; the women have lotus-flowers flanked by sejant Anubis animals, and human-headed demons. But for both the men and the women the paintings always prominently show Anubis embalming the deceased on a lion-bed. The Deir el-Medina masks are clearly in the tradition of the earlier masks, which were themselves in the Egyptian tradition, in contrast to the panel portraits.<sup>175</sup> While also related to these earlier masks, the Deir el-Bahari mummies seem to have been influenced to a certain degree by the panel-portraits.<sup>176</sup> The two distinct but comparable types represented by the two sites probably co-existed at Thebes at the end of the third century.

In the shaft of the tomb where the five Deir el-Medina coffins were buried the excavators found the remains of five large beds, deliberately destroyed at the time of the funeral. The beds, called simply “*cinq grands lits angareb en bois et paille tressée*,”<sup>177</sup> are not described further and are not illustrated in the report, presumably because they had almost completely disintegrated. Can these beds have been used to exhibit the body and to transport it to the tomb?

Lucian (second century) testified that the dead were embalmed and kept in the house before burial.<sup>178</sup> Sextus Empiricus (late second century) wrote, “But the Egyptians take out their entrails and embalm them and keep them above ground with themselves”,<sup>179</sup> and Athanasius (fourth century), wrote, “The Egyptians have the custom of honoring with funeral rites and wrapping in linen shrouds the bodies of good men, and especially of the holy martyrs; but they do not bury them in the earth, but place them on couches and keep them with them at home, thinking in this way to honor the departed.”<sup>180</sup> There seems to be evidence from the mummy-tickets (second to fourth century) that there was often an interval of several months between death and burial.<sup>181</sup> The apparent contradiction in the Roman period between the splendour of the richest mummies and the utter neglect of the graves in which they were found has been thought to support the view that the dead were kept for a long time on exhibition in the house before burial. The mummies, moreover, showed signs of wear when excavated, seeming to indicate exposure for a considerable period before burial.<sup>182</sup>

Thus it seems likely that even as late as the fourth century the mummy was sometimes kept in the house over a long period, and that it was displayed on a funerary bed during the interval between embalmment and the funeral. One might suppose that, in the case of pagan funerals, the bed used for exhibition of the mummy was in the tradition of the ancient lion-bed which, as we have seen, was certainly used in connection with the funeral rites of well-to-do private persons in Ptolemaic times, as shown by the survival of actual specimens. This lion-bed does not seem to have ever formed part of the standard tomb equipment of private persons. But its funerary character had always been familiar to them, and was still familiar in the

third century A.D., as we know from the Deir el-Medina masks and from the Akhmim tomb paintings. After lying on the lion-bed in the house the mummy may have lain on the same lion-bed during the funeral procession, as is suggested by a painted shroud in the British Museum, which shows among the background scenes a mummy lying on a lion-bed while it is being transported to the tomb on a catafalque on wheels.<sup>183</sup> Our bed was perhaps used in this manner, but in some way escaped destruction at the time of the funeral.

Bruyère observes that the destroyed beds found in the Deir el-Medina tomb-shaft may have been connected with a rite practised in the locality for many centuries, since the remains of beds were also found in the shafts of certain 18th-Dynasty tombs at the same site.<sup>184</sup> The appearance of the lion-bed in ancient funeral scenes of the New Kingdom and later periods would suggest that the bed which was ritually destroyed and buried in the tomb shaft had been used in mummification, as well as for the subsequent transportation of the body to the tomb. There is no evidence that the mummy was kept on extended exhibition in the house before the Roman period, when this custom probably resulted from the rapid impoverishment and overcrowding of burials.<sup>185</sup>

## 9. Summary

Although absolute proof is lacking, the bed was almost certainly acquired by Dr. C. T. Currelly at Thebes about 1906, during or immediately after his association with Naville's excavations at Deir el-Bahari, and while he was engaged in intensive collecting for the proposed museum in Toronto. It is possible that it came from Deir el-Bahari. It probably originally possessed a canopy, like the other three surviving lion-beds (counting the Edinburgh baldequin). Although these three lion-beds (one certainly and the others probably of Ptolemaic date) are the only close parallels there is no doubt whatever that our bed belongs to the Roman period. An attempt has been made here to show that it must have been made at least as late as the third century.

The evidence that our bed belongs to the late Roman period is scattered, and no single point is in itself conclusive. Nevertheless the object is sufficiently complex for the following various arguments to build up a strong case.

(1) The costume of the two humans, which varies considerably in their thirteen different appearances, resembles in most respects the costume of the late third century, as seen in the paintings, mosaics and statuary, while it differs in general from the costume of the first and second centuries. Most significant are the wide ungirt feminine tunic with clavi, the frequent absence of the mantle, the manner of draping the masculine mantle, the short hemline, particularly of the lady's tunic, and the probability that in one of Herty's appearances he wears a toga of the late style with *tabula*.

(2) The style of the two human figures represents the late "naturalized" type of frontality, to be explained by the adoption and subsequent assimilation of Western forms of expression which thereby became transformed into new conventions harmonizing with the old oriental traditions. This late and decadent style foreshadows the flowering of Coptic art, and is quite distinct from a variety of earlier and more artificial blends of the two incompatible traditions.

(3) The tombs of Akhmim and Qau el-Qebir show that prolific scenes from traditional Egyptian mythology, with much the same repertoire as our bed, were still being produced for funerary purposes in the third century. The Deir el-Medina masks and the Deir el-Bahari mummies suggest that in all likelihood this ancient funeral lore persisted still longer at Thebes. In the third century Thebes was the centre of a renaissance of Egyptian nationalism. It would not be surprising to find such a complex witness to the old Osirian beliefs as the lion-bed co-existing with Christianity, which owed its rapid rise to the same reaction against Hellenism and which, as a new re-

ligion, probably appealed to more intellectually emancipated elements in the community.

(4) No serious study of the linguistic features can be attempted here. It is probable that sufficient comparable material does not exist for dating purposes. But the debasement of the hieroglyphs, the consistent occurrence of the two personal names in their barest possible form, without titles, etc., and the name Senentēris itself, which appears on a mummy-ticket in demotic and Greek, may possibly lend support to the late dating of the bed.

(5) The Deir el-Medina tomb, probably to be dated to the reign of Diocletian, contained six painted mummy-masks each of which prominently displays the age-old scene of Anubis embalming the mummy on a lion-bed accompanied by Isis and Nephthys, as well as other scenes from the ancient Egyptian religious myths. The painted cartonnage of the better known mummies found at Deir el-Bahari carries more simplified and more debased funerary scenes in the Egyptian tradition beneath "portraits" which appear to be impure descendants of the earlier panel-portraits, and cousins of the fourth-century panel-portraits. The Deir el-Medina masks, the Deir el-Bahari mummies and the Toronto bed were probably produced, within a generation or two, for a single dwindling group of devotees. The Deir el-Medina tomb, where the remains of five beds (corresponding presumably to the five coffins in the tomb) were found in the shaft, perhaps supplies a clue to the function of our bed, as may also the various evidence that mummies were at this period sometimes kept on extended exhibition in the house.

The bed must be considered an important document, because it is an extremely late and elaborate survival of private Egyptian funerary painting and hieroglyphic script. On both counts it is probably unique. Egyptian objects of the Roman period are notoriously difficult to date. The Akhmim and Qau el-Kebir tomb-paintings were inadequately published and no longer exist, and few if any other traditionally Egyptian objects comparable to this bed can be attributed to late Roman times.



# Notes

1. Acc. No. 910.27. Dr. Currelly's book, *I Brought the Ages Home* (1956), in which he described his early collecting activities for the Museum, provides a basis for speculation about the provenance of the bed (Chaps. 10–12, esp. pp. 161–62), but does not mention it specifically. Among the many people whose assistance with this paper is gratefully acknowledged I must particularly mention Professor J. W. Graham of the Department of Fine Art, University of Toronto, and Professor R. J. Williams of the Department of Near Eastern Studies, University College, University of Toronto, both of whom, in reading it before the final typing, made valuable suggestions and rescued me from many serious errors. I must also give special thanks to Professor Keith C. Seele of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, for his indispensable assistance in the keying of the hieroglyphs for printing by the University of Chicago Press.

2. The pine was identified by Dr. M. W. Bannan of the Department of Botany, University of Toronto, with the aid of that department's collections. The other piece was examined by Dr. J. D. Hale, Forest Products Research Branch, Ottawa, who wrote: "The specimen is identified as *Morus* sp., probably *M. mesozygia* Stapf (*M. lactea* Mildbraed) which has brilliant deep yellow heartwood and is currently reported in Tanganyika and Uganda. Understandably dulled in colour by centuries of aging, your specimen nevertheless yielded sections that, without any staining, showed brilliant yellow colouration even under microscopic observation." The writer wishes to thank both these scientists, and also Dr. W. R. Haddow of the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests, through whose good offices their help was enlisted.

3. Animal-footed furniture was regularly provided with these blocks throughout ancient Egyptian history. For early examples see Schäfer and Andrae, *KAO*, Pl. 202 (actual pieces from Tarkhan and Abydos, 1st–2nd Dyn.). They must have served originally to protect the animal-feet from uneven or soft ground (cf. Klebs, *AR*, p. 26). It does not seem necessary to suggest a ritual explanation, as Barnett does for their remote Phoenician descendants (*Nimrud Ivories in the B.M.*, p. 116). The conical shape of the block continued to be normal for ancient representations of the lion-bed until the Roman period, but in late examples it is sometimes extremely distorted (e.g. Matthieu and Pavlov, *Eg. Art in the Soviet Union*, Fig. 21, where it is papyriform, and an unpublished coffin in the Fitzwilliam Museum, where it is T-shaped. A set of lion furniture-legs in the Louvre Museum (Boreux, *Cat.-Guide*, II, p. 600; Charbonneaux, *Merveilles du Louvre*, I, p. 90) has base-blocks roughly suggesting a cavetto cornice. This Louvre set is undated and may be as early as, but scarcely earlier than, the fifth century B.C. It probably belonged not to a stool (as restored) but to a lion-bed. The R.O.M. has a pair of front furniture-legs with lions' heads and feet (Acc. No. 910.37.9, undated but probably Roman), which offer the closest parallel I have found for our bed's "cavetto" base-blocks.

4. See, for example, the kiosk in the tomb of Ipy, Thebes, No. 217 (Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, Pl. 29).

5. The earliest known uraeus frieze is probably the architectural example in the

Djoser complex at Saqqara (Lauer, *La Pyramide à Degrés*, II, Pl. 52, and III, Pl. 24). I have found no other examples of it earlier than the Middle Kingdom. It occurs in Hathor capitals from Bubastis which are almost certainly re-used work of Sesostris III (Naville, *Bubastis*, pp. 10–13, Pls. IX, XXIII–XXIV; W. S. Smith, *Art and Arch. of Anc. Eg.*, p. 94) and in the wall-sculptures of the Hatshepsut temple at Deir el-Bahari (e.g. Naville, *Temple of Deir el Bahari*, III, Pl. 85). It is common in the later New Kingdom, particularly for the shrines depicted in the wall-pictures of temples and royal tombs (e.g. Calverley, *Temple of Sethos I*, III, Pls. 33, 38; Piankoff and Rambova, *Tomb of Ramesses VI*, p. 440, Fig. 142). It commonly surmounts the shrines of Osiris, the Hall of the Maaty, and the pylons of the underworld in the vignettes of the Book of the Dead, from the New Kingdom to the Roman period. It appears on Tutankhamun's thrones and canopic shrine (Fox, *Tutankhamun's Treasure*, Pls. 10, 42, 60), and it began to be used for the general decoration of private tomb-furniture at the end of the New Kingdom, when it was frequently used on coffins (e.g. Koefoed-Petersen, *Cat. des sarcophages et cercueils ég.*, Glypt. Ny Carlsberg, 1951, Pl. 51; *Eg. Mummies, R.O.M.*, Fig. 13). In Greek and Roman times it was extremely common on painted shrouds and other mummy accessories and on grave stelae.

6. There is a complete break in the frame on the left side, a major damage to the frame's exterior at the head end of the same side, and minor damages to the decorated surfaces. Losses to the pictorial decoration will be noted below in the detailed description of the scenes. A separately carved section of the uraeus frieze, at the head end of the right side (Pl. I), differs slightly in the design and scale of the individual units. Examination of the style, colour, wood and plain surfaces indicates that it was probably made at the same time as the rest of the object. On the rear end of the bed the uraeus frieze is merely painted in outline.

7. De Wit, *Le rôle et le sens du lion dans l'égypt. anc.*, esp. pp. 158–72, for a general summary of the lion in Egyptian symbolism. See also Yoyotte's entry "Lion," in Posener, *Dict. de la civ. ég.*, pp. 150–52.

8. Mariette, *Les mastabas de l'anc. emp.*, pp. 83–86; *Enc. phot. de l'art, Mus. du Caire*, Fig. 4; Schweitzer, *Löwe und Sphinx im alten Aeg.*, pp. 31–32, Pl. 8 (1); Capart, *Choix de documents*, IV, Pl. 610; W. S. Smith, *Eg. Sculpt. and Painting in the O.K.*, p. 15; De Wit, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

9. The large archaizing tables of the 25th–26th Dynasty found in the Embalming House of the Apis Bulls at Memphis (Amir in *JEA*, 34 [1948], 51–56, Pls. 25–27; Anthes *et al.*, *Mit Rahineh 1955*, p. 77, Pls. 42–45), seem to go back to the same prototype, since their sides are decorated with elongated lions in relief very similar to those of the cited alabaster examples. It is likely that these tables were actually used in the embalming of the bulls.

10. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, I, Pls. 3, 4 and 9; W. S. Smith, *Eg. Sculpt. and Paintings in the O.K.*, p. 36; Schweitzer, *Löwe und Sphinx im alten Aeg.*, p. 28; Lange and Hirmer, *Egypt* (1957), Pls. 36–37.

11. For bull-legged furniture see Schäfer and Andrae, *op. cit.*, Pls. 202 (1st–2nd Dyn.) and 248 (3rd–4th Dyn.), and particularly the interesting group of beds in the painted inventory of Hesy-Re, 3rd Dyn. (Quibell, *Excav. at Saqq.*, V, Pls. 18–20).



12. For examples of furniture with lion's legs pictured in private tombs see *Enc. phot. de l'art, Louvre*, I, Pl. 19 (Akhet-hotpe), and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 74c

(Senedjem-ib, called Mehy), both 5th Dyn.; and the fine beds in Duell, *Mast. of Mereruka*, Pls. 92-95, 6th Dyn.

13. Reisner and Smith, *Tomb of Hetep-heres*, Pl. 26 (accurately restored by the excavators). There is a bed-making scene in the tomb of Meresankh III (W. S. Smith, *Eg. Sculpt. and Painting in the O.K.*, p. 171, Fig. 67). Schweitzer (*Löwe und Sphinx im alten Aeg.*, p. 27) suggests that furniture with lion's legs may at first have been used only by members of the royal family.

14. Daressy, *ASAE*, 16 (1916), 196 and 202; the beds are described and not illustrated.

15. Petrie, *Denderah*, Pl. 3.

16. *Wb.*, I, 23, where only late examples with  are cited. Daressy (*loc. cit.*) gives the determinative , but since the Cairo font is used this may not be the actual form of the hieroglyph in Meru's tomb. For the 5th Dyn. the corresponding hieroglyph lacks the lion's head; e.g. in the tomb of Ty (5th Dyn.) it shows bull's feet and no footboard, thus resembling closely the ebony bed which it "labels" in a cabinet-shop scene (Steindorff, *Das Grab des Ti*, Pl. 133; Montet, *Anc. Emp.*, 308-9); see also Schweitzer, *Löwe und Sphinx im alten Aeg.*, p. 27 (quoting Möller, *Hierat. Pal.*, I. 384).


17. Jéquier, *Frises d'objets*, pp. 241-42. Similar beds are shown in process of manufacture in tomb paintings of the 12th Dyn. One seems to have both lion's head and tail (Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, Pl. 11).

18. Davies and Gardiner, *Tomb of Antefoker*, Pls. 18-19.

19. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, Pl. 29.

20. E.g. Garstang, *Burial Customs*, p. 123, Figs. 118, 119. Since the bed of daily life with footboard and lion's legs was an established form in the Old Kingdom and completely standard for the upper classes in the New Kingdom, the scarcity of evidence for the existence of such beds in the Middle Kingdom may be due, at least in part, to the accident of survival. The fine reconstructed footboard of the Kerma beds may be mentioned here (W. S. Smith, *Anc. Eg., Boston*, p. 99 and Fig. 63).

21. I assume that the plain bed with bull's legs in the "death scene" on a stele in the B.M. (*Hierogl. Texts in the B.M.*, I, Pl. 54, = Klebs, *MR*, p. 62, Fig. 41) was used by the living. Perhaps the beds holding a swathed corpse on painted sarcophagi in Cairo (Lacau, *Sarcoph. ant. au Nouv. Emp.*, I, Pl. 6) and Boston (W. S. Smith, *Anc. Eg., Boston*, Fig. 48, p. 84) are also beds of daily life.

22. Naville, *Temple of Deir el Bahari*, II, Pls. 47, 51 (Hatshepsut); Capart, *Thebes*, Fig. 52 (Amenophis III, Luxor). This type of bed survives archaistically in the Birth House at Edfu (Champollion, *Mon. de l'Ég.*, Pl. 138, Ptolemy VII). The type may go back to the early Old Kingdom, for it seems to appear as a hieroglyph in the Pyramid Texts (*Wb.*, II, 80,  Pyr. 658).

23. Davis, *Tomb of Youiya and Touiyou*, Pl. 37; Carter and Mace, *Tomb of Tutankh-Amen*, I, pp. 113, 115, Pls. 18, 49; III, pp. 110-11, Pl. 32A, B. See also ancient models of beds, e.g. Hayes, *Sceptre*, II, pp. 202-4, Figs. 117, 118.

24. Davies, *Tomb of Two Sculptors*, Pl. 24; Davies, *Tomb of Ramose*, Pl. 27; Davies, *Rock Tombs of el-Amarna*, III, Pls. 24, 33; Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, I, Fig. 78 (tomb of Ramesses II); Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, Pls. 207 (Kha-em-hat), 257



(Men-kheper). In the last-mentioned picture (Men-kheper), in addition to the bed shown among the house furniture, there appears a bed carrying a mummiform coffin. The latter is lower than the daily-life bed, and is without footboard or bedding, but it lacks the lion's head and recurved tail. For N.K. beds of daily life see also Klebs, *NR*, pp. 141-42.

25. Klebs, *NR*, p. 140 (=Rosellini, *Mon. civ.*, Pl. 125).

26. E.g. Davies, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re*, Pl. 82; Werbrouck, *Pleureuses*, Pl. 3, (=Nebamun, Thebes No. 17); *B.M. Pap. of Hunefer*, Pl. 6. The first two examples cited carry a shrine, or the mummy within a shrine, and the last carries the mummy. Exceptionally the mummy in funeral processions lies on an ordinary bed (Theban tomb No. 255, Ray, illustrated in Erman, *Life in Anc. Eg.*, pp. 320-21).

27. The form scarcely changes in the wall-pictures and painted mummy accessories until the Roman period. An interesting late example is that of the bed carrying the falcon-headed mummy of the Meroitic king Ergamenes (*JEA*, 9 [1923], Pl. 6). Representations of the bed on stelae and mummy trappings of private persons who lived in Roman Egypt are too numerous to mention.

28. Chaps. 1b and 151. In the papyrus vignettes, too numerous to cite, the bed is exceptionally drawn without head, with tail only, or without either head or tail.

29. The earliest example that I have found in wall-paintings is in the tomb of Sennofer, reign of Amenophis II (Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, Pl. 309; Lhote, *Peinture ég.*, Pl. 143).

30. Esp. Deir el-Medina. See Bruyère, *Mertseger*, p. 186, for list of tombs showing the scene. Occasionally the bed lacks the lion's head (Deir el-Medina, Tomb No. 2, Khabekhet).

31. The scene occasionally appears on coffins of the 19th Dyn. (coffin of Khonsu, Cairo, = Lhote, *op. cit.*, Pl. 12). Later examples are too numerous to cite. In Greek and Roman times the mummy is exceptionally seen lying on a true lion instead of a lion-bed (e.g. Petrie, *Denderah*, Pl. 26).

32. Carter and Mace, *Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen*, I, pp. 110-15, Pls. 17, 18; Fox, *Tutankhamun's Treasure*, Pl. 7B (for detail, lion's head).

33. Cairo No. 3833. Davis, Maspero and Daressy, *Tomb of the Harmhabi and Touatankhamanou*, Nos. 12, 13, 15, 16, 22; Engelbach (ed.), *Introd. to Eg. Archaeology*, p. 101; *Brief Description* (Cairo Mus., 1946), p. 80; Klebs, *NR*, p. 140. A Hathor bed appears among gifts presented to the queen in the wall-pictures of an official of Hatshepsut (Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, p. 4, Pl. 3).

34. See Notes 8 and 10, above.

35. Carter and Mace, *Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen*, I, Pl. 62. The same type of royal chair, or throne, appears in wall-pictures of the New Kingdom, e.g. the scene in the tomb of Kheruef showing the king in his audience chamber (Lange and Hirmer, *Egypt*, 1957, Pl. 152), and the carrying chair of Tuthmosis III, Hatshepsut Temple (Naville, *Temple of Deir el Bahari*, V, Pl. 124).

36. The bronze "lion-thrones" of the Persian period in Berlin (*Mon. Piot*s, 256 [1921-22], pp. 361-64) and Copenhagen (Mogensén, *Coll. ég., Glypt. Ny Carlsberg*, A200, Pl. 35) represent an interesting late survival of this symbolism in a form of cult object from the temple of the lion-god at Leontopolis.

37. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, Fig. 18.

38. Winlock, *Temple of Hibis*, III, Pl. 4, 20; Mariette, *Dendérah*, IV, Pls. 68, 70, 72, 90; Champollion, *Mon. de l'Ég.*, I, Pl. 90 (Philae).



39. Amélineau, *Tombeau d'Osiris*, Pls. 3, 4; Schweitzer, *Löwe und Sphinx im alten Aeg.*, p. 65, Pl. 14.

40. Roeder and Ippel, *Denkm. des Pelizaeus-Mus.*, pp. 23, 135, No. 1277 (not illustrated). The bed is dated (*loc. cit.*) by implication to the New Kingdom but is without provenance or other specific means of identification. Its published length is only 88 cm., but since the frame and webbing are restored it may well have been life-size originally. The bronze lion's heads and the wooden lion's feet, which I have studied from an original photograph, stylistically suggest a date earlier than the Ptolemaic period.

41. Cairo No. 3263, length 225 cm. Maspero, *Art in Eg.* (1912), pp. 287-88, Fig. 559; *idem*, *Guide du visiteur* (Cairo Mus., 1914), pp. 305-6, Fig. 85; Leibowitch, *Anc. Eg.* (1938), pp. 179-80, Fig. 126; *Brief Description* (Cairo Mus., 1946), pp. 68-69; Capart, *Choix de Documents*, IV, Pl. 798 (a). The coffin which is stated to belong with this bed (Leibowitch, *loc. cit.*; *Brief Description*, *loc. cit.*) is that of "Pannedjem-ib, called Tutu, Second Prophet of Min," dated to the Ptolemaic period. I can find no reference to an inscription on the bed itself. Its style, particularly the Nephthys acroterion illustrated in Maspero's *Guide* (*loc. cit.*), points to this period. Presumably the exact place of discovery supported Maspero's dating, since in his report of his unsystematic excavations at Akhmim he seems at least to distinguish between Roman, Ptolemaic and earlier graves (Bissing, *ASAE*, 50 [1950], 549-51; Leclercq, in *Dict. d'arch. chrét.*, I, pp. 1042-45, where Maspero's report in *Academy*, No. 693 [1885] is quoted).

42. Berlin Museum No. 12708; *Ausführliches Verzeichnis*, p. 359, Fig. 71; Vledemar Schmidt, *Sarkofager, Mumiekister, og Mumiehylstre i det gamle Aegypten*, p. 71, No. 369. The Berlin bed also has a vaulted roof, uraeus frieze and file of *ajouré* seated figures. Its hieroglyphic inscription was copied from an M.K. sarcophagus.

43. Rhind and Birch, *Fac-similes of Two Papyri Found in a Tomb at Thebes*, Pl. IV, Fig. 1; *idem*, *Thebes, its Tombs and their Tenants*, Frontispiece; Capart, *Choix de Documents*, IV, Pl. 798 (b); Maspero, *Art in Eg.*, pp. 287-88. Maspero (*loc. cit.*) attributes this bed to the Ptolemaic period.

44. For examples of hieroglyphic private names recorded on grave stelae of the Roman period see: Spiegelberg, *Dem. Denkm.*, I, Nos. 22094, 31159, both inscribed in both hieroglyphic and demotic; Kamal, *Stèles ptol. et rom.* Nos. 22208, 22211; *Guide to Eg. Gal., Sculp.*, B.M. (1909), Nos. 1061, 1062. Grave stelae of this period sometimes have the personal names written only in demotic or Greek, even when they contain a funerary formula in hieroglyphic. The only private stele I have found with a name in hieroglyphic that can certainly be dated later than the end of the first century is Kamal, *op. cit.*, No. 22208 (called Antonine or Severan), which will be discussed below. The scarcity of hieroglyphic names on coffins, cartonnage and other decorated mummy accessories of the Roman period can be judged by a general survey of Edgar, *Graeco-Eg. Coffins*. Along with short, often illegible stock formulae in hieroglyphic the owner's name is sometimes written only in Greek or demotic on the same or on an associated object. Scott-Moncrieff (*Paganism and Christianity in Eg.*, pp. 23-25) observed the general disintegration of hieroglyphic at the end of the second and the beginning of the third century, especially the disappearance of private names. A graffito at Dakka dated (on palaeographic grounds?) to the third century contains the hieroglyphic name of a local priest of Isis, and those of his father and mother. One at Philae containing the hieroglyphic name of another priest

may also be late. (Griffith, *Cat. of the Dem. Graffiti of the Dodecaschoenus*, Dak. 30/2, Ph. 436. I owe knowledge of these inscriptions to Professor Williams.)

45. *Univ. Mus. Bull.*, 6 (May 1936), pp. 118–20 and Pl. 5 (initialed M.M.C.); Ranke, *Univ. Mus. Bull.*, 15 (Nov. 1950), pp. 92–93 (unillustrated). The owner's name is rendered by Ranke, "Hor, son of Har-sa-Aset, born of Tadikhety(?)." Ranke calls the shroud Late Roman but no support for the attribution is given in this brief notice. The piece has been assembled and sewn together from several fragments in modern times. Most of the object is clearly from the right-hand bottom portion of the shroud, which showed a large mummiform figure and was bordered at the bottom and side with a band of hieroglyphs. For general design it may be compared with the similar but uninscribed B.M. shroud cited in Note 183, below.

46. Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus*, A 58, 41, see esp. Vol. VI (Index), p. 24; Ranke, *Personennamen*, II, 307, 29. The name is vocalized Herōti by Gardiner, and transcribed *hrt* by Ranke.



47. Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 116, 5 (= Louvre, Apis Stele, 144).

48. Spiegelberg, *Dem. Denkm.*, II, No. 30619, Col. III, 1.7. I owe this reference to Professor Williams.



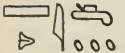


49. Spiegelberg, *Aeg. und griech. Eigennamen*, No. 265. Dr. H. De Meulenaere kindly gave me this reference many years ago. On reading over my paper Professor Williams has noted the reference to the same mummy-ticket in Preisigke, *Sammelbuch griech. Urk. aus Aeg.* (1915–55), I, 4192; and has also noted there two other occurrences of the name Senentēris in Greek only: Preisigke, *op. cit.*, III, 7043, 7060. See *Wb.*, IV, 83, for this writing of *ntrw* in Graeco-Roman times.

50. The names compounded *p3-šry-n* ("the son of" and *t3-šryt-n(t)* ("the daughter of") followed by the name of a deity are common in hieroglyphic (Late Period to Graeco-Roman), and are extremely common in their demotic and Greek (*Ψεν* and *Σεν*) forms. Most closely resembling *t3-šryt-n(t)-ntrw* are the demotic and Greek names corresponding to the following: *t3-šryt-n(t)-p3-ntr*, "the daughter of the god" (Spiegelberg, *Aeg. und griech. Eigennamen*, No. 291; Griffith, *Cat. of the Dem. Graffiti of the Dodecaschoenus*, Bij 14); *t3-šryt-n(t)-p3-n-ntr* "the daughter of him who belongs to god" (Hall, *PSBA*, 27 [1905], 117, No. 43); and *p3-šry-n-n3-ntrw*, "the son of the gods" (Lichtheim, *Dem. Ostraca from Medinet Habu*, 137/5; Wängstedt, *Ausgewählte dem. Ostraka* 37/1 and 37/5, dated A.D. 49). I have found no examples of these closely related names in hieroglyphic. For the general date of the mummy-tickets see Spiegelberg, *Aeg. und griech. Eigennamen*, Part β, p. 2. Professor Williams provided me with the references to Griffith, Lichtheim and Wängstedt among the above variants of the name, and has corrected Hall's rendering from the Greek (*loc. cit.*).

51. This name is common in demotic and Greek. It occurs in hieroglyphic on a Ptolemaic(?) stele (Kamal, *Stèles ptol. et rom.*, No. 22148) and in the third century graffito at Dakka mentioned at the end of Note 44, above. I have not found it in Ranke, *Personennamen*.

52. The  is clearly the first sign in the column.  may appear as determinative for *ršw* in the Graeco-Roman period (*Wb.*, II, 454).

53. Gardiner, *Grammar*, I 13. This sign may be crowned with the horns and solar disk of Hathor-Isis (cf. Kamal, *Stèles ptol. et rom.*, No. 22197).



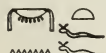

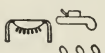
54.  has the value *r* in this period, e.g. *Wb.*, IV, 524,  , Greek period,  ; Hall, *PSBA*, 27 (1905), 87, No. 33,  ; Kamal, *op. cit.*, No. 22197, .


55. The signs following *t3-šryt-n(t)-ntrw* may represent *ir n t3-3st*, with the same meaning as the bottom of the corresponding columns on the opposite side.


56. There are fifteen gates in Chap. 146 of the Saite recension (Naville, *Todtenbuch*, p. 173).




57. Cf. C. H. S. Davis, *Book of the Dead*, Pls. 65-67 (=Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*). Only thirteen of the fifteen guardians in the Turin papyrus cited here are accompanied by serpents, but the two species are shown.



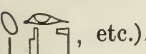
58. Baldwin Smith, *Eg. Architecture*, p. 47.


59. The name could be , of which only  is probable, the other signs being lost. The headdress is perhaps the double crown. The epithet below perhaps reads  . Could this signify *ndty n tf·f*? (cf. *Wb.*, II, 370,  *nd*, meal, grain; and *Wb.*, II, 240,  *nb*, a Greek-period word with the same meaning). The god carries a falcon-headed censer and a libation vessel from which liquid flows to an offering-table.



60. Doubtfully read  . For Horus-Aḥa, Kamal, *Stèles ptol. et rom.*, No. 22049. For Aḥa as a divine epithet, *Wb.*, I, 216, and as a demon in the form of Bes, *Wb.*, I, 217, and Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, p. 103.

61. Identification very doubtful, based on the possible reading of the hieroglyphs as  , with uraeus on forehead.

62. The names of these two human-headed goddesses are very clumsily written but seem to be  and  respectively. The latter has an epithet which I cannot identify. It seems to end in  , which reminds one of the epithet *ḥwt*, "the horned one" (*Wb.*, I, 174; the other signs do not bear this out).

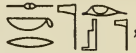


63.  . I have not found this epithet elsewhere except in combination with the more usual *s3 3st* (Kamal, *Stèles ptol. et rom.*, Index of gods,  , etc.).  , etc.).


64. The signs are perhaps .


65. The name seems to consist of two signs only, of which the upper is possibly  and the lower is almost certainly  (*p3 3*?).

66. Jéquier, *Considérations sur les religions ég.*, p. 49 and Figs. 18, 19. Others, for example, in tomb of Sennofer, Sheikh Abd el Qurnah, and tomb of Sennedjem, Deir el-Medina, both well illustrated in Lhote, *Peinture ég.*, Pls. 143, 149. See also Kamal, *op. cit.*, Nos. 22038, 22054, etc.



67. Filling the space between the back of the god's chair and the skirt of the goddess behind him, and hence far removed from his name , is a group of signs perhaps to be read  (or  ?) *štyt*, the name for the sanctuary of Sokar, used also as a name or epithet for the god himself (*Wb.*, IV, 559).


68.  "the Great One," see *Wb.*, I, 163, where *št* is listed only "als Titel von Göttingen." I have found no reference to it there or elsewhere as the name of a specific goddess.


69. The name of the goddess seems to be written .

70. The djed is labelled *wsir*, with  alone of four component signs certain.



71. I cannot recognize the name, which is probably identifiable.

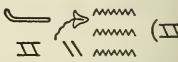



72. The name is lost. She has an epithet *nb(t)* . . . , probably identifiable.

73. For  *nfr* see Brugsch, *Hieroglyph.-dem. Wörterbuch*, III, 760. The name of Osiris (occasionally other gods as well) was sometimes written within a cartouche, from at least as early as the 19th Dynasty, and this practice was common in the late periods, e.g. Boreux, *Cat.-Guide* (Louvre, 1932), II, p. 302, Pl. 41; Edwards and Shorter, *Handbook to the Eg. Mummies and Coffins Exhibited in the B.M.*, p. 38; Koefoed-Petersen, *Cat. des sarcophages et cercueils ég.* (Glypt. Ny Carlsberg), No. 19; Murray, *ZAS*, 44 (1907), 62 ff., Pl. 4; Sethe, *Amun*, p. 87.




74. Chaps. 38, 54-57, 60, 61. The only instance I have found of the sail being carried by a god is in the late coffin of  in the Louvre, where the Sokar falcon offers a sail to the owner (unpublished?).


75. Jéquier, *Considérations sur les religions ég.*, pp. 53-54; Vandier *Religion ég.*, p. 188, Note 4.


76. Reading the signs  *nbt nhmt*, for Hathor in Ptolemaic (*Wb.*, II, 297). For  *nbt* in Ptolemaic (*Wb.*, II, 227 and II, 232).




77. This portly, scantily dressed figure is perhaps labelled  (misplaced, substituted for ).  = *p* in Ptolemaic, e.g., Drioton in Piankoff, *Livre du jour et de la nuit*, p. 104; *Wb.* I, 505,  *pw*.

78. Possibly the name is written . There seems to be an epithet below.

79. The name seems to be written , but the flaming pots support the identification, and  would seem an easy slip for .


80. The name is written .

81. Clearly , *hrt*. This occurs in the Greek period as a name for Isis (*Wb.*, III, 142).








82. Thoth's name is written  here and elsewhere on the bed, cf. *Wb.*, V, 606,  (Ptol.). Horus' name seems to be written . The balance is extremely

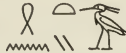
distorted, and its chains spread outward in an unnatural curve. It resembles the fragmentary balance (*not* a harp!) of the Philadelphia shroud (Note 45, above).

83. Bissing, *ASAE*, 50 (1950), 572 and Pl. 1; *idem*, *JDAI*, 61-62 (1946-47), 4. See also Leemans *Pap. ég. fun. hiérog.*, TI, Pl. 10.

84. They do not seem to be named. In the Book of the Dead they are usually named Shay and Ernutet, when two are shown, and Meskhent when only one (cf. a similar brick on the other side of the bed, Pl. IX). The name apparently belongs to the cynocephalus and is probably  Thoth (see Note 82, above).

85. For a closely similar Sokar falcon wearing a *menat*, see Koefoed-Petersen, *op. cit.*, No. 20, p. 43, Pl. 95.




86.  , *šnty ntr*. For  = *šn* in the Ptolemaic period cf. *Wb.*, IV, 506,   *šn<sup>c</sup>*; IV, 520,  *šnty*; IV, 515,  *šnn*, etc., etc.

87. *Wb.*, IV, 519, . Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, Chap. 84, heading, where the vignette shows a heron-like bird.








88. The scene appears in the vignettes to Chapters 1 b and 151 b of the Book of the Dead, where the beds sometimes show and sometimes do not show any mattress or cushioning. The decoration of one of the late Roman masks from Deir el-Medina discussed below (see Note 172) shows similar bedding. Beds of daily life were shown with mattresses, featherbeds or cushioning from the Old Kingdom on, e.g. Duell, *Mast. of Mereruka*, Pls. 92-95 (6th Dyn.); Jéquier, *Frises d'objects*, p. 242 (M.K.); Davies, *Tomb of Two Sculptors*, Pl. 24 (18th Dyn.). See also Klebs, *N.R.*, p. 14.



89. Milne, *JEA*, 14 (1928), 230; Bell, *JEA*, 34 (1948), 82.

90. The name of a general and governor under Julius Caesar (*Oxford Classical Dict.*, p. 431). Professor F. M. Heichelheim has suggested to me that Hirtius, an indigenous Latin name, would stem from central or north Italy. Professor R. J. Williams has pointed out to me that Herty could scarcely represent a Greek name as the Greek aspirate is not strong enough to be transliterated with an Egyptian *h*; and that it might possibly represent a Semitic name, since the Semitic aspirate is stronger. Aretas would be theoretically possible though unlikely. There seems to be little indication of "northern" types in the mummy panel-portraits (cf. Petrie, *Roman Portraits and Memphis IV*, p. 14).

91.   The fetish sign is clearly recognizable (*Grammar*, R 17). The writing with  is Graeco-Roman, *Wb.*, I, 9, cf. *Wb.*, V, 228.


92. The upper part of the god's figure is lost, together with his name. There is an unidentified epithet, which might possibly be the same as that for the falcon-headed god, front of bed, upper register, second in the right-hand file (Note 59, above).

93. The head is lost, but the name is preserved   . This name must be a corruption of     *m-mwt* (*Wb.*, I, 184). The form of the monster and its pedestal are common in late examples of the scene, except for the serpent's tail and the knives, for which I have found no parallels.

94. All that survives of the name is the last two signs,  , cf. the bricks on the opposite side of the bed (Pl. VII), above. There is room for a second brick above




this one, in the damaged area, but it is probable that there was only one (see Note 84, above).


95. Most of the god's head is lost but the neck is unmistakable. The name is also lost, and I cannot identify the epithet () .


96. See p. 27, below.

97. See p. 24, below.

98. The floral objects held by the pair both here and in their next appearance to the left may be branches, for which I have found no parallel except, perhaps, in the late shroud shown in Petrie, *Roman Portraits and Memphis IV*, p. 15 and Pl. 12 (called a "branch of herbs"). They are more likely to be identified with the object held in the left hand in the late Deir el-Bahari mummy-cartonnages (see Note 167, below), which are surely always the same thing, whether called "wheat," "garland," or "posy," and which seem to me to bear a striking resemblance to the more clearly delineated "flower surrounded by leaves" of the portrait of Ammonius from Antinoë (see Note 169, below). The indirect identification of our objects with the bouquet held by Ammonius is supported by the two-handled cup held in the right hand of all the cited examples (but not by our pair!). See also the woman holding wreath(?) and cup in a Cairo late Roman(?) mixed-style relief, Edgar, *Greek Sculp.*, No. 27539. Our "bouquets" seem to be tied with streaming ribbons.




99. The name is probably . The god wears the white crown, carries the *was* sceptre, and wears a *mankhet* counterpoise. The figure and its accessories are the same as the Osiris in the upper register on the front of the bed. The projection of a skirt in front of the mummy wrappings is a peculiar feature of all three standing mummiform gods, and is the god's costume shown by Kamal, *Stèles ptol. et rom.*, II, Fig. 66 on Pl. 79 (diagrams of the various types of dress of the Graeco-Roman stela).

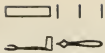


100.  (?).



101. See pp. 26-27. Herty's name is written with  standing alone on his left.





102. Chapter 15-16 of the Book of the Dead. This scene and the scene with Shu, to the left (Note 104, below), are shown together in many of the papyri. Nephthys is often accompanied by the "west" symbol and Isis by the "east" symbol.

103. The animal is the Anubis form (*Grammar*, E 16). Wep-wawet's specific form as god of Asyut is a *standing* jackal (or wolf), but he was assimilated to Anubis, at least as early as the temple of Sety I at Abydos. The knife, an unusual feature, might be explained by the emphasis on Wep-wawet's warlike characteristics in Roman times. Wep-wawet, called Macedon by the Greeks, and Anubis were then known as the two warrior sons of Osiris (Diodorus, I, 18), and the two jackal-headed guardian figures equipped as Roman soldiers in a tomb at Kom esh-Shugafa are probably to be identified with these same gods (Rowe, *BSRAA*, 35 [1942], 25 and Pl. 11; Bissing, *Alte Orient*, 34 [1936], 19).

104. See Note 102, above. The two signs on the upper right are surely    
*rc nb*, cf. the  in the corresponding position of the same scene in the Louvre Pap. No. 3082 (= Davis, *Book of the Dead*, Pl. 4). Shu's name is below, if it is possible



to read it in , s(°)w s3(?). On the god's other side is a group of signs beginning  ntr s3, with the rest illegible, possibly , m w3st(?), cf. Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, p. 788, where "the Great One of Thebes" is mentioned as an epithet for Shu-Khonsu in late Theban texts.



105. [   ](?).

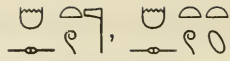


106. In Chapter 161 the doors are usually shown in pairs with each representation of the god facing inwards. The action, with arms stretched high and low, gives an effect which is strikingly similar to our scene. The names of the two gods are written above: on the right  [  ](?) and on the left  [  ](?).

107. Sandals with either long or short lacing are often indicated in late Roman painting, e.g. Wilpert, *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms*, p. 99. Herty's footwear may particularly be compared with the clearly drawn footwear of the male figure in the third-century painted tomb at Marwa, Transjordan, *QDAP*, 9 (1939-41), Pl. 1. Since it is indicated on the leg in this case by both a wash of darker colour and by line one may speculate whether Herty and his lady wore boots and shoes or wore socks beneath sandals, such as the knitted socks of Roman date from the Fayum in the Royal Ontario Museum, which have the divided toe necessary for wear with ancient sandals. The feminine footwear shown on the M.M.A. shroud (Note 127, below) perhaps represents a sandal worn over a short sock rather than a shoe, as is suggested by the arrangement of the jewelled toe-strap and by the clearly drawn toes.

108. For a full account of the ogdoad's history and connections see Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter* (1929). See also Anthes' recent account in Kramer, *Mythologies of the Anc. World*, pp. 65-68. The four primordial pairs of male and female deities belonged originally to the Hermopolitan myth of the creation of the world. They were adopted by Thebes in the late periods and it was there, apparently, that they received their frog (m) and serpent (f) forms. They appear in the Ptolemaic and Roman temples of Dendera, Edfu, Philae, Karnak, Deir el-Medina and Medinet Habu, which are practically the only source of information about them. They were worshipped at Medinet Habu, where they were supposed to have been buried while continuing to exercise power over man and nature. Their usual names were Nun and Naunet (primordial ocean), Huh and Hauhet (flowing water), Kuk and Kauket (darkness), and Amun and Amaunet (air or space).

109. The top of the upper sign is lost in a damage caused by the medial strut and must have touched, or overlapped with, the "sky" band (which is also touched by the heads of the two figures at the left end). Are there known parallels, in association with the ogdoad, to support the suggestion? Is the relationship of Thoth to the ogdoad at Hermopolis of any significance here? Thoth was known as "He who is in the ogdoad" (Sethe, *op. cit.*, p. 81), and in the Ptolemaic period as "the Intelligence of Re" (*Wb.*, I, 59, *ib n r*).  *ib* could be written  in the Ptolemaic period (*Wb.*, I, 59).

110. For the late writing  for  *hmnw*, Sethe, *op. cit.*, p. 42; *Wb.*, III, 283. The transcription is attempted in the hope of eliciting corrections and amplification.

111. Here written , *hmstw*, *hmstwt*; written in the two instances cited below ,  (cf. Sethe, *op. cit.*, p. 68).

112. Amun, Amaunet occur at Thebes most frequently in the early Ptolemaic period (Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter*, p. 71, and Table, Pl. 1).

113. Sethe, *op. cit.*, p. 68. Edfu, and p. 70, Thebes.

114. For absence of the ogdoad from funerary documents, Jéquier, *Considérations sur les religions ég.*, p. 158. Sethe (*op. cit.*) lists two papyri which include ogdoads: one is a demotic MS of Ptolemaic date (Berlin, No. 13603) and the other a Greek magical papyrus (Leiden).

115. The familiar terracotta figures of Hellenized Egyptian deities were not funerary but were used as household gods or temple offerings, taking the place of the vanishing Egyptian bronze deities. For a general account of the hybridization of style in funerary objects see Edgar, *Graeco-Eg. Coffins*, Introduction. Scharff observes that Egyptian sculpture in the round finally disappeared about the middle of the third century, somewhat earlier than Egyptian two-dimensional work (Otto's *Handbuch*, 1939, p. 637).

116. The painted shrouds suggest a parallel but more Western integration of style. In the first century it seems to have been usual for the head of the deceased to be painted realistically in Western style by a different hand, while the rest of the mummiform figure and the background figures, etc., followed Egyptian tradition (e.g. two shrouds in Boston, W. S. Smith, *Anc. Eg., Boston*, pp. 188-89, Figs. 127, 133); beginning with the second century the whole of the main figure seems often to have been painted by the same hand and in the dress of daily life, while the background scenes become corrupt and greatly reduced in importance (e.g. the Moscow shroud, Strelkov, *Fayumskii Portret*, Pl. 28; the M.M.A. shroud, Note 127 below; and the shroud of Ammonius, De Grüneisen, *Le portrait*, Pl. 2).

117. Černý, *Anc. Eg. Religion*, pp. 149-50. According to Sauneron, recent studies of the second-century hieroglyphic texts at Esna indicate that the decline and death of ancient Egyptian theological thought took place considerably later than had been suspected (CRAI, 1957, pp. 12-15).

118. Bell, *Cults and Creeds in Rom. Eg.*, p. 64; Černý, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

119. Posener (ed.), *Dict. de la civ. ég.*, p. 134 (Sauneron). I have not found the primary material on which this statement is based. For two other late hieroglyphic inscriptions in the region of Philae see Note 44, above.

120. Cf. *Guide to Eg. Coll. B.M.* (1930), Fig. 228, Stele of Diocletian, with *ibid.*, Fig. 229, private stele with illegible demotic and no hieroglyphic; and with Spiegelberg, *Dem. Inschr.*, No. 31145 (Pl. 17), written in "barbarischen Hieroglyphen" and "fast unleserlichen Demotisch." The type of stele shows at the top two confronted "Anubis" animals seated on haunches, beneath a winged sun-disk with abnormally large drooping wings.

121. Kamal, *Stèles ptol. et rom.*, No. 22208, Pl. 71. From Abydos. For a later dating of this stele see Note 162, below.

122. Roeder and Ippel, *Denkm. des Pelizaeus-Mus.*, No. 1537, pp. 18, 147-48, Fig. 62. A king offers to Amun(?), with Hathor standing behind the throne. The goddess has three heads (two profile and one *en face*), the other figures are in roughly traditional stance. The scene is completed with a triple arcade.



123. See Edgar, *Graeco-Eg. Coffins*, where the objects bear out the general statement in the introduction (p. xix): "In the second century it is very rarely that we find even a short line of ill-made hieroglyphs." See also Note 44, above. The coffins from Hibeh, with anonymous and meaningless hieroglyphs, published in Naville, *Ahnas el-Medineh*, Pl. 11, are worthy of mention here.

124. See Note 45. The painted shrouds of the Roman period sometimes carry very short hieroglyphic inscriptions.

125. A stucco female figure in the Metropolitan Museum said to come from Tuna el-Gebel and called "not later than the 4th century" (Dimand, in *M. M. Stud.*, 2 [1929-30], 239-40, Fig. 1). The figure wears an ankle-length, girdled tunic with festooned bands painted on it. These bands may represent merely folds but they are above the girdle as well as on the belly.

126. Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins*, No. 33282, pp. xvii, 129, Pl. 48, (no provenance). Since the shroud is poorly preserved and poorly reproduced the detailed description is most important. I am indebted to Miss Nora Scott of the Metropolitan Museum for the comparison with the M.M.A. shroud mentioned immediately below (Note 127). The similarity does not extend beyond the costume; the conventional, mixed style of the Cairo shroud contrasts with the Hellenic appearance of the M.M.A. shroud.

127. *Philip Sale Cat.* (1905), No. 102, said to come from the Fayum; Reinach, *Revue archéologique*, 5e série, 2 (July-Dec., 1915) 18 and Fig. 13; Strelkov, *Fayumskii Portret*, p. 28, Fig. 12; Dimand (*M. M. Stud.*, 2 [1929-30], 239) follows Reinach in dating the shroud to the second century. The jewellery seems to indicate a later date. For the ball and triple-pendant earrings cf. Marshall, *Cat. of Jewellery in the B.M.*, Nos. 2672-73, 2668-69, etc.; Segall, *Benaki Mus.*, *Goldschmiede-Arb.*, No. 136; all dated to the third century; the similar earrings of the mummy-portraits perhaps indicate second or third century (Drerup, *Datierung der Mumienporträts*, p. 22). The Moscow portrait of Strelkov, *op. cit.*, No. 8, Pl. 6, which wears this type of earring, must be very late. The M.M.A. lady wears a necklace made up of large oval stones in wide settings, as well as two torque necklaces and torque bracelets. These features are typical of the jewellery of the later Roman Empire. According to Drerup (*op. cit.*, p. 19), the coloured border at the neck would be an indication of lateness. The style of the painting is consistent with the third-century mummy-portraits, cf. esp. Ammonius from Antinoë (de Grüneisen, *Le Portrait*, p. 49, Pl. 2; de la Ferté, *Portraits romano-ég. du Louvre*, p. 17, Fig. 17). In the field of the M.M.A. shroud there is only a small Anubis-headed figure on each side, apparently executed by the same hand as the central figure.

128. Of actual surviving tunics from Egypt none, to my knowledge, has been dated earlier than the fourth century. They nearly always have a band of stitched overlap around the middle, possibly for the insertion of a girdle or cord to raise the garment by folding it at the waist, or to confine its enormous width. The R.O.M. possesses two fine tunics (unpublished), dated tentatively not later than the fourth or fifth century on technical grounds. They are not provided with this "girdle fold." They are not straight-cut but are loosely tailored to the contour of the body and with a slightly flaring skirt. (I owe this information to Mr. Harold Burnham of the R.O.M.'s Textile Department.) These tunics may help to explain the earlier tunics depicted by the ancient artists.

129. Graindor, *Bustes et statues-portraits d'Ég. rom.*, No. 60, p. 119, Pl. 52.

130. See Note 147 below.

131. Rubinsohn, *JDAI*, 20 (1905), 8 and Fig. 12.

132. Edgar, *Graeco-Eg. Coffins*, Nos. 33270, 33271, pp. 110–14, Pl. 44, described as wearing hoop-earrings with animal heads; Edwards and Shorter, *Handbook to the Eg. Mummies and Coffins Exhibited in the B.M.*, Nos. 29584, 29585, pp. 58–59, Pl. 25. The type seems to represent that described by Maspero in his excavations at Akhmim (see Bissing, *ASAE*, 50 [1950], 549–51). There seems to be a high girdle (see esp. the B.M. No. 29585). Edgar (*loc. cit.*) describes the Cairo examples as having a mantle knotted between the breasts and covering the front of the body. For date, see Edgar, *op. cit.*, pp. ix–x, xvii–xviii; also cf. the head of the B.M. specimen with Edgar, *op. cit.*, Pls. 26–27. It is uncertain whether the unusual dress of the ladies depicted on the interior of some coffins in the British Museum was worn during life or whether it was at least in part an adaptation of pharaonic dress for the purposes of the tomb (described by Reinach in *Revue archéologique*, 5e série, 2 [July–Dec., 1915], 18). This is the same type of costume as that of the large figure on an unpublished(?) painted shroud in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Acc. No. 724723). The snake bracelets indicate a date not later than the early Empire period.

133. Borda, *La pittura romana*, p. 285. Professor Gilbert Bagnani referred me to this book, and also to the works by Cecchelli and by Van Berchem and Clouzot, cited in Notes 136 and 139, below.

134. Fakhry, *The Necropolis of El-Bagawat*, pp. 1–2, 11–12, Pls. 14–19 and Figs. 53, 54, 56 (dome of the “Chapel of the Exodus”). A similar costume is seen in an early fourth-century mosaic in Carthage depicting life on an estate (Rostovzeff, *Soc. and Ec. Hist. of Rome*, I, Pl. 79, Fig. 1). The boy stelae from Sheikh Ibada, which have been dated mainly on stylistic grounds to approximately the same period, occasionally wear this costume (Muller, *Panthéon*, 18 [Nov.–Dec., 1960], 267–71. I owe this reference to Mr. John D. Cooney.

135. Wilpert, *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms*, Pls. 43, 79, 81, 86, 88, 185, 198, 222, 232. For lowering of Wilpert’s dates, see Wirth, *Die römische Wandmalerei*, p. 226 (none earlier than third century) and Rumpf, in Otto’s *Handbuch* (1953), p. 195 (early fourth century). Our tunics, like those of el-Bagawat and the Roman catacombs, seem to be related to the *dalmatica* which were common in Rome at the end of the third century, having been introduced from the Orient, ostensibly from Dalmatia. The *dalmatica* is mentioned in a decree of Diocletian, which attests that it was widespread in the Orient at that time (Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, II, pp. 19–20, and V, p. 339).

136. Cecchelli, *Monumenti cristiano-eretici di Roma*, Pl. opp. p. 100. For the ungirt tunic worn by both men and women in late Roman times, see also below, Note 140.

137. This is my personal impression, based on lack of observation of white feminine tunics in the mummy-portraits, until the late Empire. For white feminine tunics of that period: *Pagan and Christian Eg.* (Brooklyn Mus.), No. 5 (= Drerup, *Datierung der Mumienporträts*, No. 27) and No. 6; *Five Years of Collecting Eg. Art* (Brooklyn Mus.), No. 73 (Frontispiece). Drerup (*op. cit.*, p. 19) observes that the tunics of the female mummy-portraits are generally coloured while those of the males are white, or off-white. A female mummy-portrait in Moscow (Strelkov, *Fayumskii Portret*, No. 11, Pl. 7), which has a white tunic, must be contemporary with a portrait dated by Drerup to the first half of the fourth century A.D. (*op. cit.*, No. 29 and Pl. 18); the amulet pendant would also indicate a late date.



138. Herty's tunic is certainly exposed to view in three instances (Pls. VIII and IX), and as certainly is there shown without clavi.

139. The perennial fashion of wearing the mantle with a section pulled tightly around the waist and with one end falling from the left shoulder and the other from the left arm is extremely common in representational art of the second, third and fourth century (e.g., Kraeling, *Dura Europos, Final Report*, VIII, Part I, *The Synagogue*, Pls. 18-76 (third century); van Berchem and Clouzot, *Mosaïques chrét. du IVe au Xe siècle*, Fig. 31 (fourth-fifth century); De Grüneisen, *Les caractéristiques de l'art copte*, Pl. 14 (Moscow shroud, second century).

140. See Notes 134 and 135, above, El-Bagawat and the Roman catacombs. More examples of the masculine than of the feminine tunic of this description may have existed in representations of third-century date; e.g. Borda, *La pittura romana*, p. 302 (Ostia); Toynbee and Perkins, *The Shrine of St. Peters*, pp. 77-78, Pl. 16 (called "probably about the middle of the 2nd century" but more probably third); Cecchelli, *Monumenti cristiano-eretici di Roma*, Pls. 16 and 21; Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, Pl. 48 b. According to Wilpert (*Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms*, p. 87), the wide, ungirt tunic for men was introduced to Rome by Antoninus, who discovered it in Dalmatia, and its feminine counterpart did not appear until the third century. Drerup makes the generalization (*Datierung der Mumien-porträts*, p. 19) that the pallium (for both sexes) is often lacking in the late Empire. Two generalizations of Lillian Wilson's in *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans* are also consistent with what little I have found in the ancient representations: that tunics were girt (with some possible exceptions for cult purposes) until about the middle of the third century (p. 59), and that the long, enveloping feminine stola was being abandoned by the third century (p. 155). Reinach (*Revue archéologique*, 5e série, 2, July-Dec., 1915, 22) observed in general terms that the Roman-Egyptian tunic for men, women and children alike was "une grande tunique blanche flottante, à demi-manches, qui est moins le chiton grec que la galabieh des fellahs." This seems true enough for the late Empire, but I have been unable to find any evidence for such a garment in earlier times. See also below, in the tomb-paintings of Akhmim (*ASAE*, 50 [1950], 576) and Qau el-Kebir (Steckeweh and Steindorff, *Die Fürstengräber von Qaw*, Pl. 22 a).

141. Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, Pl. 293. See also the two contemporaneous busts on Pls. 296 B and 297 A, and the bust of Maximinus I (235-238) on Pl. 293 of the same work. This type of toga is shown two-dimensionally in a mosaic of the Piazza Armerina, Rome (Gentile, *Bollettino d'arte*, 42 [1957], 12 and Fig. 5). It seems to appear in the arch of Constantine (Burckhardt, *Die Zeit Constantins des Grossen*, Fig. 12).

142. Graindor, *Busts et portraits-statues d'Ég. rom.*, No. 50, p. 106, Pl. 42 b.

143. *Roman Portraits and Memphis IV*, p. 15 and Pl. 12. Although this figure does actually appear to be a man the mask of the mummy upon which the cloth lies is surely a woman (Petrie calls the deceased a man).

144. Kamal, *Stèles ptol. et rom.*, No. 22208, Pl. 71. See also Note 162, below, for a later dating of this stele.

145. Hooper, *Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou Billou*. See also Note 160, below. I do not know whether the garment (Herty's) in question might not even be the pallium contabulatum described and illustrated in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, IV, p. 293 and Fig. 5483. This was a scarf-like mantle in vogue towards the

end of the third and during the fourth century, which was folded four or five times lengthwise, pleated in a wide band, and tied in various ways around the body.

146. This is very clearly shown in Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, Pl. 48 b ("House of the Buffet Supper," third century(?)). I have not found earlier examples of the style.

147. For the Tuna el-Gebel tomb: Sami Gabra, *Rapport sur les fouilles d'Hermopolis-Ouest (Tuna el-Gebel)*, p. xii, Pls. 12-15, esp. 13(2); *ILN*, June 8, 1933, pp. 1020-21, Figs. 6-7. The tomb is not clearly dated by the excavators, who suggest the third century for the group of tombs to which it belongs. Bissing (*ASAE*, 50 [1950], 570) quotes a letter of Drioton's written in 1949, dating the tomb to the second century; Scharff dates it to the second century (Otto's *Handbuch*, 1939, p. 637); and so does Engelbach (*Introd. to Eg. Archaeology*, p. 143). Dr. W. S. Smith, who mentions these tombs in his *Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, kindly replied to my inquiry as follows, "I would not be surprised if Plate 13(2) (of the report) is second century. . . . I remember that Miss Swindler thought that a number of the classical paintings seemed earlier than third century."

148. *ASAE*, 50 (1950), 547-76, Pls. 1-4; *JDAI*, 61-62 (1946-47), 1-16. The watercolor drawings in the former work were made by his wife, who accompanied him. There are no photographs or facsimile drawings.

149. Nestor l'Hôte, *Lettres écrites d'Ég. en 1838 et 1839*, p. 86, quoted by Bissing, *ASAE*, 50 (1950), 576.

150. *ASAE*, 50 (1950), 562.

151. *Loc. cit.*

152. Rostovtzeff, *JHS*, 39 (1919), 147, where he links the Akhmim tombs with well-dated tombs in South Russia, which showed strong Egyptian influence, and at Ostia. According to this article he discusses the matter at greater length in a work published in Russian (*Ancient Decorative Painting in the South of Russia*).

153. *JDAI*, 61-62 (1946-47), 15; *ASAE*, 50 (1950), 564. The pattern is common in the Roman catacombs. He also observes that sarcophagi in the Akhmim tombs are similar to those of the Roman catacombs. (*JDAI*, 61-62 [1946-47], 1). The mummy-tickets suggest that in the third century Christians were buried at Akhmim beside devotees of the ancient Egyptian religion (Scott-Moncrieff, *Paganism and Christianity in Egypt*, pp. 102-5).

154. Drioton, *Chron. d'Ég.*, 20 (1945), 104-11. He connects these paintings with the two Rhind Papyri in Edinburgh, written at the end of the first century B.C.

155. Lefebvre, *Le tombeau de Petosiris*.

156. I have found no Egyptian private stelae showing Greek influence which are securely dated to the Ptolemaic period except, perhaps, the Berlin stele of a bearded Phoenician dated by inscription to 203 B.C. (Schäfer, in *ZAS*, 40 [1902], 31 ff., Pl. 1).

157. Bissing, *La catacombe nouvellement découverte de Kom el-Chougafa*; Schreiber, *Die Nekropol von Kom esch-Shukafa*; Rowe, *BSRAA*, 35 (1942), 10, 18-45. The painted tombs at Kom esh-Shugafa are perhaps slightly later than the main tomb in these catacombs, which contains mixed-style statuary and reliefs and is dated on stylistic and iconographic grounds to about the time of Hadrian.

158. Bell, *Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, pp. 55, 66.

159. Bataille, *Chron. d'Ég.*, 26 (1951), 342-52; Bell, *Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest*, p. 109.

160. Hooper, *Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou Billou*. The coins were found either in the hands of the deceased or in rows below or on top of the body from the chin to the abdomen (p. 13). The numismatic evidence is supported by inscriptional evidence (p. 4, length of reign in four examples). A full list of previous publications of the type is given (Note 1 of that work).

161. *Greek Sculpt.*, p. xii.

162. Kamal, *Stèles ptol. et rom.*, No. 22208, Pl. 71, attributed by Kamal to the Antonine or Severan period, apparently on account of its extremely "late" appearance. In the light of more recent publications, notably the stele of Diocletian (Mond and Myers, *The Bucheum*, Pl. 46), it might be assigned to the third century on the same grounds of style. Its "toga" of third-century form has been mentioned above (pp. 22, 26).

163. E.g., The Coptic funerary stele in the Brooklyn Museum, *Pagan and Christian Eg.* (Brooklyn Mus., 1941), No. 36, and the Coptic tapestry illustrated in the May 1960 Sale Catalogue of *Ars Antiqua*, Lucerne, No. 41, both probably fifth century.

164. This has been discussed most recently by Will: *Le relief culturel gréco-rom.*, p. 248-49. See also Deonna's study of the degeneration of forms during the Roman period: *Du miracle grec au miracle chrétien*, III, pp. 55-61.

165. See Note 147, above.

166. Guimet, *Les portraits d'Antinoë au Mus. Guimet (Annales du Mus. Guimet, 5 (1912), Pls. 35-41)*; de Grüneisen, *Les caractéristiques de l'art copte*, p. 35. Antinoë was founded in 122, under Hadrian. Most of the mummy portraits, etc., from the site seem to belong to the third century (see de la Ferté, *Portraits romano-ég. du Louvre*, and Scott-Moncrieff, *Paganism and Christianity in Egypt*, pp. 106-7).

167. Naville, *Temple of Deir el Bahari*, II, p. 5; *EEF Arch. Report*, 1893-94, pp. 3-4, Pl. 3. For the type see Edgar, *Graeco-Eg. Coffins*, Nos. 33276-79, pp. x-xi, 119-23, Pl. 46.

168. Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri, 1911-1931*, p. 99, Pl. 95. There are examples in Boston (W. S. Smith, *Anc. Eg., Boston*, p. 189, Fig. 131) and in Brooklyn (*Five Years of Collecting Eg. Art*, Brooklyn Mus., No. 74, p. 59, Pl. 92), both of which are also published in *Pagan and Christian Eg.* (Brooklyn Mus.), Nos. 9 and 10.

169. De Grüneisen, *Le portrait*, p. 40, Pl. 2; de la Ferté, *Portraits romano-ég. du Louvre*, p. 17, Fig. 17. See also Notes 98, 127, above.

170. Drerup, *Datierung der Mumienporträts*, Nos. 30-34 (fourth century).

171. For probable date see, in addition to the works cited above for examples of the type, Scott-Moncrieff, *Paganism and Christianity in Egypt*, p. 128, who suggests the second half of the third century. He doubts that one bore a Coptic label, as stated by Naville.

172. Bruyère and Bataille, *BIFAO*, 36 (1936-37), 145-74.

173. Bruyère and Bataille, *op. cit.*, pp. 167, 174, Pl. 5. One of the masks (Pl. 5, No. 3) wears the type of earring worn in the latest type of mummy portrait (Drerup, *Datierung der Mumienporträts*, Nos. 27, 29, 31, Pls. 17-19); this is probably also worn by the Deir el-Bahari mummies (Edgar, *Graeco-Eg. Coffins*, Pl. 46); similar earrings, however, seem to have been worn earlier as well (Drerup, *op. cit.*, No. 13, Pl. 6; Segall, *Benaki Mus., Goldschmiede-Arb.*, Nos. 121, 122, 131, 134; Edgar, *JHS*, 25 (1905), 230).



174. E.g. Hooper, *Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou Billou*, No. 63, Pl. 7d.
175. Edgar, *JHS*, 25 (1905), 231, for development of the mask.
176. Their relationship to the late panel portraits is suggested in *Pagan and Christian Eg.* (Brooklyn Mus.), No. 9. The view is, however, mainly my own, and admittedly subjective.
177. *BIFAO*, 36 (1936-37), 146.
178. *De Luctu*, 21.
179. *Pyrrh.*, III, 24, 226.
180. Meyer (trans.), *Life of Saint Antony*, p. 94.
181. Schmidt, *ZAS*, 32 (1894), 56.
182. Petrie, *Rom. Portraits and Memphis IV*, pp. 2-3; Erman, *Religion der Ägypter* (1934), p. 412. Erman cites a wooden shrine for a mummy in Berlin, with double doors opening at the upper half of the body, in support of this theory (*op. cit.*, Fig. 176), and adds "oder sie ruhten auch auf den schönen Bahren mit den durchbrochenen Wänden, die sich in den Gräbern dieser Zeit finden." The reference is probably to the *Ptolemaic* beds in Cairo, Berlin and Edinburgh (Notes 41, 42 and 43, above). I know of no further material that might substantiate the quoted statement.
183. Unpublished, Cat. No. 98-3.15-218, 30092. The shroud is related to the Moscow shrouds (Strelkov, *Fayumskii Portret*, Pls. 28, 30), to the Philadelphia shroud (Note 45, above), and to a shroud in Boston (W. S. Smith, *Anc. Eg., Boston*, Fig. 133), and must belong to the Roman period. That the bier was occasionally represented as drawn on wheels in the funeral procession as early as the New Kingdom is proved by a coffin in the British Museum (Edwards and Shorter, *Handbook to the Eg. Mummies and Coffins*, 1938, No. 36211, p. 39). Wheels appear in a similar scene on the fragment of a painted shroud reproduced in Wilkinson, *A Popular Account of the Ancient Egyptians* (1854), I, p. 384, Fig. 337, called "Late Period," but perhaps Roman.
184. *BIFAO*, 36 (1936-37), 146-47.
185. Bataille, *Chron. d'Ég.*, 26 (1951), 338.

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*PLATES*





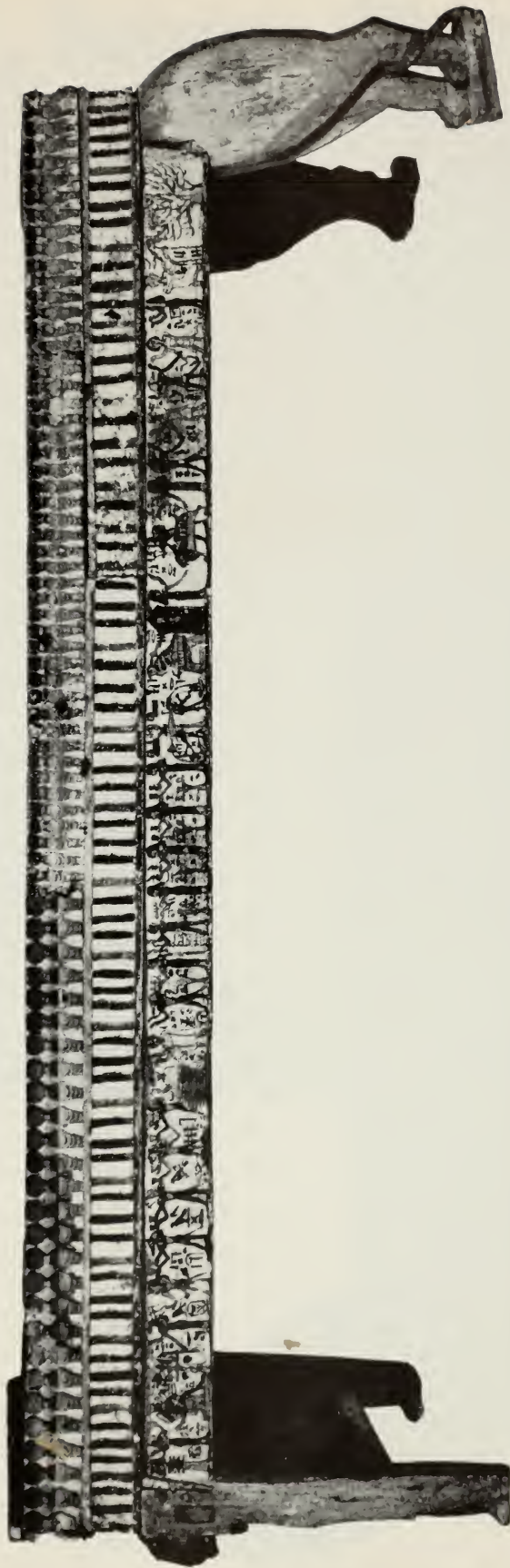


PLATE I. *The Toronto Bed, General View, Right Side*



PLATE II. *The Toronto Bed, General View, Left Side*



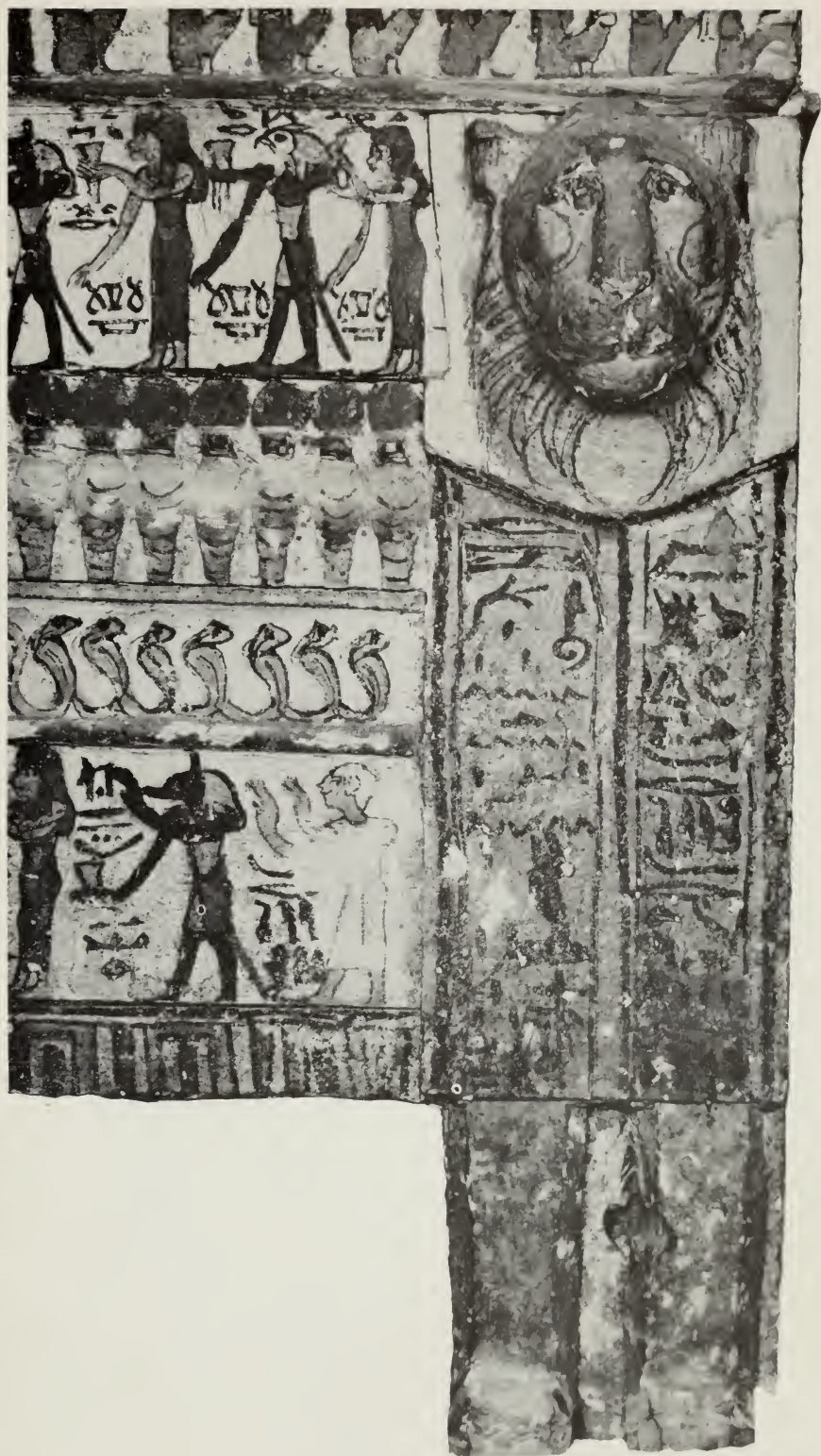
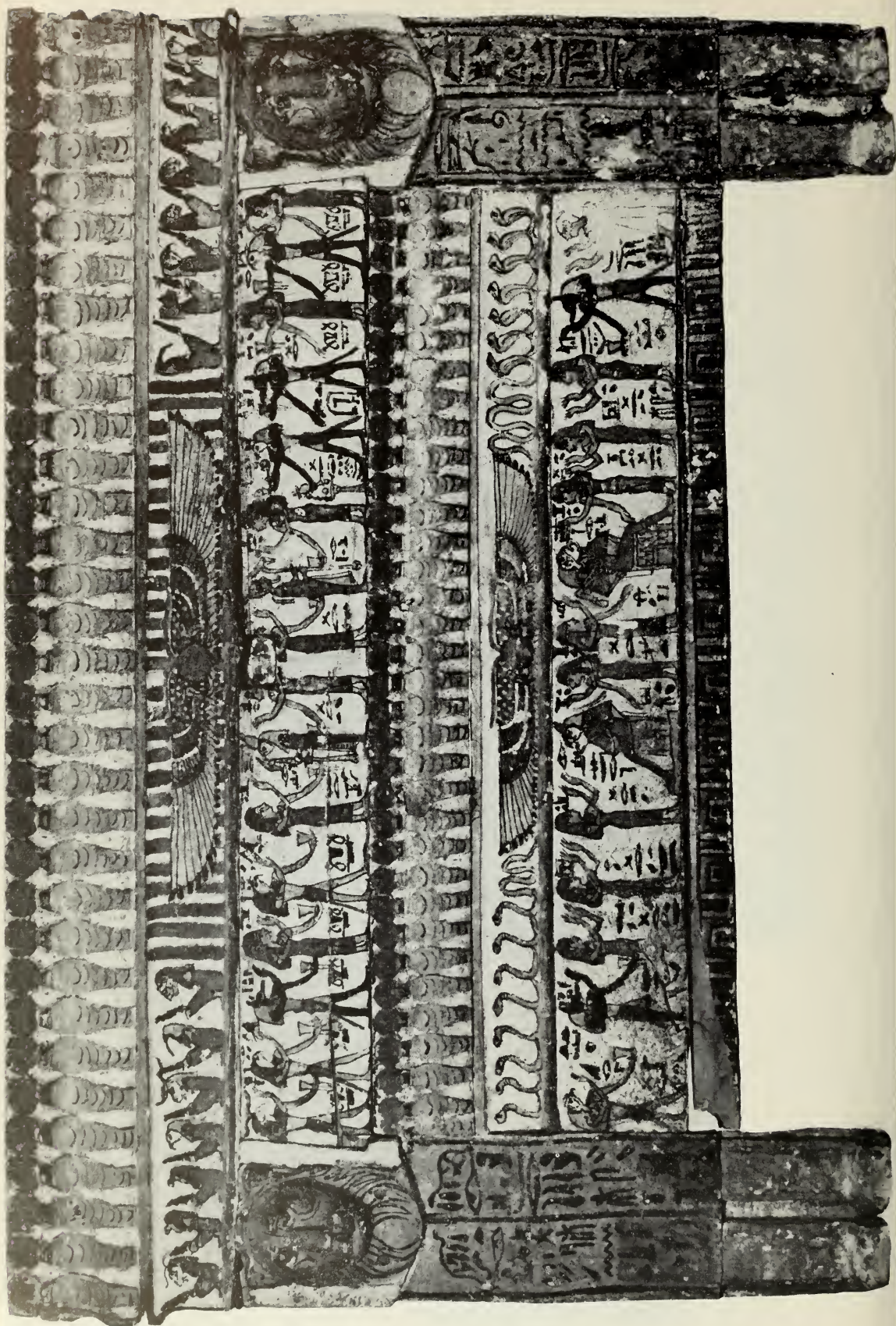


PLATE III. *The Right Front Leg showing Double Column of Inscription, and Herty in File of Deities.*









LATE V. *The Pictorial Frieze, Right Side, First Section*  
(Left End).

LATE VI. *The Pictorial Frieze, Right Side, Second Section*





PLATE VII. *The Pictorial Frieze, Right Side, Third Section*

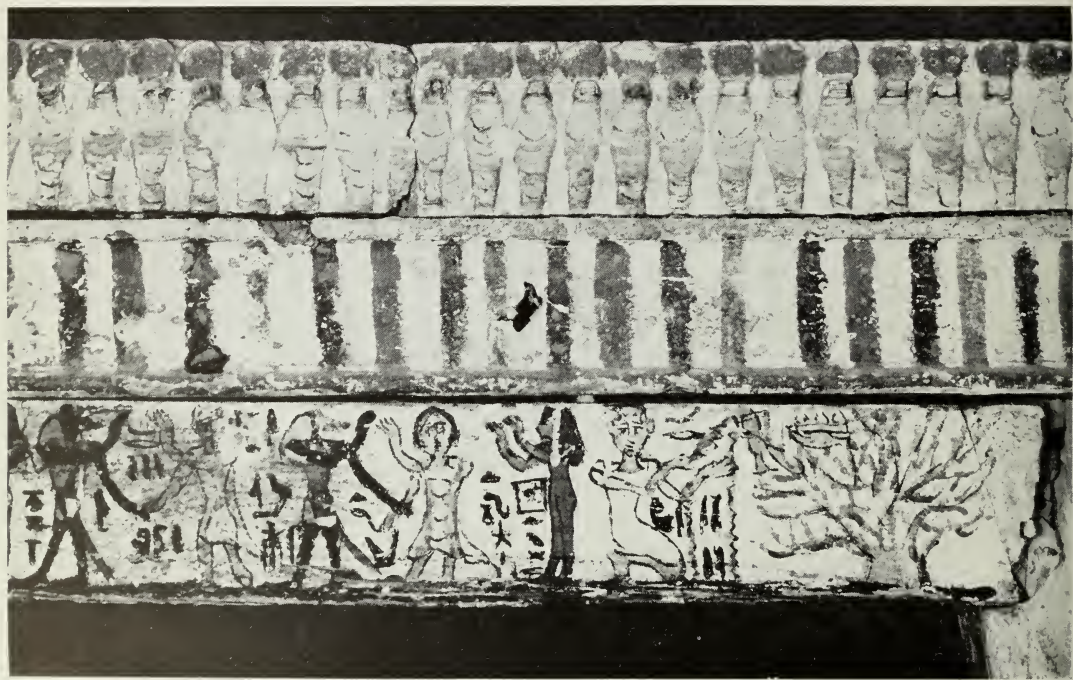


PLATE VIII. *The Pictorial Frieze, Right Side, Fourth Section (Right End).*





LATE IX. *The Pictorial Frieze, Left Side, First Section  
(Right End).*



LATE X. *The Pictorial Frieze, Left Side, Second Section*





PLATE XI. *The Pictorial Frieze, Left Side, Third Section*



PLATE XII. *The Pictorial Frieze, Left Side, Fourth Section (Left End).*

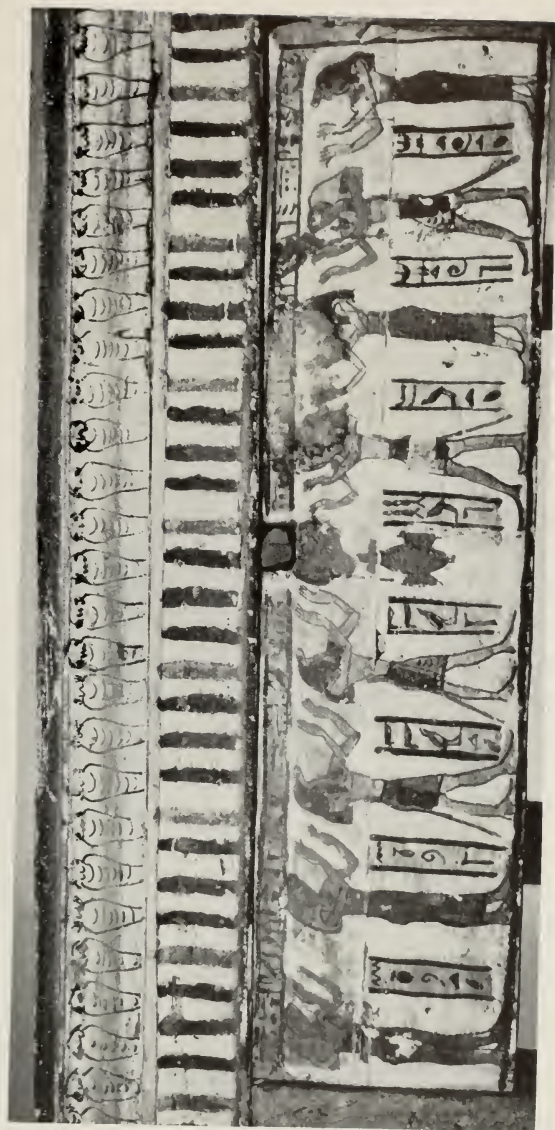


PLATE XIII. *The Foot of the Bed, the Ogdoad*























